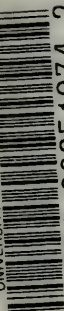


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BY THE

REV. H. T. F. DUCKWORTH, M.A.

*Professor of Divinity, Trinity College, Toronto ; Formerly
Assistant Chaplain, representing the Eastern Church
Association, in Cyprus, and Postmaster of
Merton College, Oxford*

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PREFACE

THOSE chapters of this little book which deal with "Great Britain and Cyprus" and "Athens in the Twelfth Century" were contributed to the *Trinity University Review* (Toronto) in 1903 and 1904. It is due to the editorial staff of the *Review* that the author should here thank them for the kindness and courtesy shown by them in consenting to the publication of these chapters in the form of a book. The paper on the "Latin Conquest of Cyprus" was originally written in 1902. Some passages in it have been taken from a lecture on Cyprus delivered at Trinity College in March of that year.

Pilgrimages are an "institution" in this Age of Trusts as much as ever they were in the Ages of Faith, and though the old "Pilgerstrassen" have been almost entirely abandoned, the places visited by pilgrims of old are still included in the itineraries of their latter-day successors. To those of his countrymen who have either made, or intend to make, a pilgrimage to the holy places of Christian and Classical Antiquity, the author hopes that his work, if it should come under their notice, may be of service.

H.T.F.D.

TRINITY COLLEGE, TORONTO.

September 24th, 1906.

GREAT BRITAIN AND CYPRUS—A RIDER TO THE EASTERN QUESTION

I.

A WELL-KNOWN legend asserts that Mahomet's coffin, in the place of his sepulchre at Medina, floats suspended in the air, between heaven and earth. Commentators of the typological school might be excused for finding in this legend a prophecy, or parable of the fate which has overtaken the island of Cyprus.

The island, in so far as its inhabitants are subject to the authority and jurisdiction of a Governor and other officials, appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, must be considered a dependency of the British Crown. But it is not so in the sense in which Trinidad or Newfoundland are dependencies. The Sultan of Turkey regards Cyprus as properly a part of his empire, of which Great Britain enjoys the use, by his consent and permission. Cyprus is really a Turkish province under British administration, and a written agreement exists, between Great Britain and Turkey, specifying the contingency in which the former would evacuate the island. That contingency is indeed extremely remote. But when Great Britain is pledged, in the event of the restoration of Kars and Batoum to Turkey by Russia, to evacuate Cyprus, it is plain that Cyprus cannot be regarded

as a British possession in the full sense of the phrase. Great Britain is not indeed bound to wait for that contingency, if she wishes to part with Cyprus. She is free to evacuate the island at any moment. But when the British High Commissioner goes, the Turkish Vali returns. Great Britain was entirely at liberty to make over the Ionian Islands to Greece. She is equally at liberty to restore Gibraltar to Spain, or transfer Malta to the Kingdom of Italy. But with regard to Cyprus, she has no such freedom. Apart from the remote contingency mentioned above, Cyprus must either remain under British administration, or be handed back to the direct and plenary government of the Turk, unless other arrangements be made profoundly modifying the Cyprus convention of June, 1878, and its supplement of July in the same year. It is far from probable, however, that the Turk would agree to such modifications as would enable us to dispose of Cyprus entirely according to our pleasure.

The occupation of Cyprus was a "nine days' wonder" in 1878, but the event was soon forgotten, and the darkness of secular oblivion descended once more upon the island. Very few, probably, of those who hear the story of the conversion of Sergius Paulus, the "deputy of Cyprus," by his namesake, "Paul the apostle," bethink them that the "deputy" now-a-days is an Englishman.

The circumstances, however, of the British occupation of Cyprus are decidedly interesting. It will be worth while to recall and review them,

not only on account of their own inherent interest, but for the light which they may serve to throw upon a question which, so far at least as the native Cypriote is concerned, is a serious one, the question, "What is to be done with Cyprus?" or, to put it more exactly, "What is to be done in the matter of the occupation of Cyprus? Is it to be ended, or mended, or left alone, undisturbed and unaltered?"

The "Cyprus question"—as it is called in the native Greek press—is a minor department of what is generally known as the Eastern Question, though perhaps one ought rather to speak of Eastern Questions. They are all closely related, however, to one master-problem—the possession of Constantinople.

The Eastern Question may be considered as having its origin from the policy of Russian expansion inaugurated by Peter the Great, and continued by Catherine II. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Russia was a backward, barbarous country. It had been thrown back by Mongolian and Tartar invasion and oppression in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and had made but little progress in the way of recovery. The eighteenth century witnessed not only the consolidation, but the enlargement of Russia—and this enlargement took place very much at the expense of Turkey. The survival of such place-names as Yeni-Kale, Kadikoi, Baktchi-Serai, etc., in the Crimea, or on the Sea of Azov, bears out the witness of history that the Ottoman Empire at one time embraced the northern shores of the

Euxine. It was not till nearly the end of the eighteenth century that Russia obtained possession of the coasts, and proved her superiority in military power and resources over Turkey. Moreover, the position of affairs arrived at by 1800 was anything but final. Russia was a growing power. Turkey was declining, and there was no hope of recovery or restoration for her. In the Middle Ages piratical fleets from South Russia had entered the Bosphorus, and given battle—though with very ill success—to Byzantine war-ships under the very walls of the city of Constantine. When the nineteenth century began the Russians were already within measurable distance of achieving what their forefathers had attempted. Those who claim to have knowledge of the matter, declare that the possession of “Tsarigrad,” the City of the Great King, is by no means the goal of Russian ambition, and indeed a Russian emperor has expressly asserted that Russian policy does not seek the capture of Constantinople. If this be true, then indeed truth may sometimes be stranger than fiction. Russia has everything to gain by securing the complete, unimpeded, and direct command of Constantinople, and with it the passage between the Euxine and the Ægean. It would indeed be surprising if Russian emperors and statesmen were in truth absolutely indifferent, absolutely nonchalant, in this matter.

Two at least of the great Powers of Europe could not regard the question of the future of Constantinople and the Turkish Empire with

indifference. These Powers were, and still are, Austria and Great Britain. A glance at the map of Europe will serve to show the difference that the extension of Russian dominion over the Balkan Peninsula would make to Austria. To Great Britain the capture of Constantinople by the Muscovite meant danger to communications with India, even before the construction of the Suez Canal. The danger of Russian advance and aggression upon the western frontier of India was sufficient, without the added peril of an encumbered, or even completely severed line of communication.

Russia was strongly suspected of complicity in the disturbances which broke out in Afghanistan in 1839, and led to the calamitous events of 1841—the murder of the British resident at Cabul and the *débâcle* in the Khyber Pass. Distrust and suspicion of Russian designs upon India had much, one might say everything, to do with Britain's acceptance of the French Emperor's invitation to join in hostilities against Russia in 1854. And once more, in 1878, this traditional distrust prevailed over the horror excited by the Bulgarian atrocities, so that the nation, as a whole, warmly applauded the measures taken by the Beaconsfield Government for the deliverance of the "unspeakable Turk" from the deadly embrace of the Russian Bear.

The Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878 was generally regarded in England as a fight between the Muscovite and the Osmanli for the possession of Constantinople. There were those in England,

Mr. Gladstone, for example, who would gladly have seen the Turk turned out of Europe, "bag and baggage," and out of most of Asia Minor as well. But the majority of the nation, led by Lord Beaconsfield—no difficult leading was it, indeed, in this matter—desired the protection, not the expulsion, of the Turk. His methods, or non-methods, of government might be "unspeakably" bad, but so long as he remained in possession of Constantinople he was "unspeakably" useful and serviceable as a barrier to Russian extension southward. Great Britain's interests in the Mediterranean and India, in the Nearer and Further East, demanded that the Turk, and his bag, and his baggage, and all that was his, should *not* be turned out of Europe—nor, indeed, for the matter of that, out of Asia Minor.

At the beginning of 1878, however, the prospect was alarming. The fall of Plevna, in December, 1877, after a most heroic resistance, had left the Russians free to essay the passage of the Balkans, if they were ready to do so in the depth of winter. They were ready, and not many days of the new year, 1878, had passed by when the Shipka Pass was forced, and the road across Eastern Roumelia lay open. Very soon the Russians had occupied Adrianople, and an armistice was declared. But it is less than two hundred miles from Adrianople to the city of Constantine—a small matter to troops which had marched from the Dniester to the Maritza. The temptation was too strong, and in spite of the armistice, the Russians continued their advance (February, 1878).

The news of the Russian advance set England in a ferment. The government seems to have taken it for granted that the Russians all along intended a dash upon the Turkish capital, for a squadron of British men-of-war was lying at anchor in Besika Bay, just outside the Mediterranean entrance of the Dardanelles.¹ This squadron was ordered to steam up the Dardanelles and the Sea of Marmora, and cast anchor off Constantinople, to protect the city in case the Russians should attempt to effect an entrance.

The Russians advanced as far as San Stefano, a place on the coast of the Marmora, only a few miles outside the ruined land-walls of Constantinople, while the British warships took up their station by the Prince's Islands, under the Asiatic shore, and thus the two greatest of the great powers of Europe confronted each other. The Russians, however, were not disposed to push matters to extremities. An agreement was come to by which the Russians were bound not to advance beyond San Stefano, and the British not to land any armed force.

Almost under the very walls of Constantinople, Russia opened peace negotiations with the Porte, and a treaty was drawn up and signed at San Stefano, by which Russia would have secured almost complete independence for the Christians in the Turkish Empire, independence, that is, in

¹ Just off Besika Bay lies the island of Tenedos—*statio male fida carinis*! Close by, to the south, is Troas, and to the north is the site of Sigeum, the refuge of the Pisistratidæ. North-east, at a distance of about six miles, is the River Scamander and the site of Troy.

relation to the Sultan, and would have set up a greatly extended Bulgarian state, with a seaport on the Ægean. But these provisions were vehemently called in question by the British Government, and not without reason, for they completely subverted the arrangements made by the Treaty of Paris in 1856 after the Crimean War, especially in regard to the Sultan's relations to his Christian subjects.¹

The San Stefano treaty was not executed. In view of the Treaty of Paris, Russia had taken up an untenable position. The western powers could not be expected to let her dictate peace to Turkey on her own terms. Finally, through the mediation of Prince Bismarck, a congress of representatives of the great powers (Britain, France, Germany, Austria, Russia, Italy), was announced to be held in Berlin. June 13th was appointed as the day on which the congress was to open its proceedings. Russia agreed to submit the whole contents of the San Stefano treaty to the direction of the congress.

The congress met, discussed the treaty, made considerable modifications in it, and broke up on July 13th. Great Britain was represented by Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury. The results of the Berlin proceedings were far from leaving Russia discontented. Russia, indeed, appears to have obtained not only all that she could have expected, but all that she did, as a matter of fact, expect and desire. Kars, Batoum, and Ardahan were added

¹ For the provisions of this Paris Treaty, see Justin McCarthy's "History of Our Own Times," chapter xxviii. It was signed by representatives of Great Britain, France, Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, Russia, and Turkey.

to her possessions south of the Caucasus, and she recovered the Bessarabian territory taken from her in 1856, the Roumanian Government being persuaded, not to say coerced, into exchanging it for the Dobrudscha. It was a Diomedean bargain—

χρύσεα χαλκείων, ἑκατόμβοι' ἐννεαβοίων

Bulgaria became a principality under the suzerainty of the Sultan, but within its own borders autonomous. Bosnia and Herzegovina were handed over to Austria. The area of the Sultan's full jurisdiction and authority in Europe was reduced by at least one half, if not more.

Russia had begun by refusing to submit the San Stefano treaty to Prince Bismarck's proposed congress. Afterwards she consented. Why? Did she fear that a coalition of the western powers would be formed against her? The experiences of 1854-1855 can hardly have inspired Russia with much respect for, still less fear of, coalitions. The real reason why the Russian Government gave way was that secret negotiations had been carried on with Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury, the result being an agreement, by which the British representatives bound themselves beforehand to let Russia obtain everything that she specially wanted. Russia did not specially want an enlarged Bulgaria extending to the Ægean. But she did want Bessarabia, Kars, and Batoum, and she got them. So far then as the British and Russian envoys to the congress were concerned, the Berlin treaty was practically a *chose jugée* before the first line of it had been written.

While these secret negotiations were in process, Lord Beaconsfield made bellicose demonstrations, for the edification of the world in general and the British public in particular. Indian troops were summoned to Malta. The reserves were called out. A special vote of credit for six millions was obtained from Parliament. This warlike demeanour scandalized Lord Derby, the Foreign Secretary, who resigned, and was succeeded by Lord Salisbury.

The discovery of the secret negotiations was perhaps accidental. But whether made by accident or by treachery, it could not be denied without complete disregard of veracity on the part of the Foreign Office. Yet it does not appear to have greatly damaged Lord Beaconsfield's cause, for the moment, at any rate. The Berlin Congress at least preserved the Turk in possession of Constantinople. Russian ships of war might present themselves at either gate of the sea-pass between the Ægean and the Euxine, but they were, like all the rest, forbidden to enter. Moreover, it was announced that so far as Great Britain was concerned, something substantial, over and above these negative advantages, had been secured.

The negotiations with Russia had not been the only secret business transacted through the Foreign Office before the assembling of the Berlin Congress. On June 4th, 1878, nine days before the congress met, a convention was signed at Constantinople by Sir A. H. Layard and Safed Pasha, representatives plenipotentiary of Great Britain and Turkey, the effect of which was to pledge the former

power to a defensive alliance with the latter against Russia, in consideration of an express promise on the Sultan's part to introduce necessary reforms into the administration of his empire, especially so far as concerned his Christian subjects; the island of Cyprus, which had been a part of the Turkish dominions since 1571, being ceded, or rather *lent*, to Great Britain "in order to enable her to make necessary provision for executing her engagement," the engagement being to give armed assistance to the Sultan in case of any attempt which Russia should venture upon in future to enlarge her possessions further at the expense of the Turkish empire.

By the wording of Article 1 of the Convention, the agreement would not have taken effect if Russia had restored Kars, Batoum, and Ardahan to Turkey. At the time when the convention was drawn up, Russia was in possession of those places. There was not the least likelihood of her being persuaded to evacuate them. Of this the correspondence simultaneously in progress between the Foreign Offices in London and St. Petersburg would leave no room for doubt. Lord Beaconsfield, therefore, determined to obtain something for Great Britain as a set-off to the Russian acquisitions in the north-eastern regions of Asia Minor.

II.

THE set-off to the enlargement of the Czar's dominions in Asia Minor in 1878 was the

right conceded to Great Britain to occupy and administer Cyprus. This achievement of British diplomacy met in some quarters with outspoken censure. Mr. Archibald Forbes, the celebrated correspondent of the *Daily News*, could discern no sort of wisdom in the occupation of an "unhealthy island in a dead corner of the Mediterranean." Cyprus does not deserve the stigma of a name for unhealthiness, but the condition of commerce in that region of the Levant is certainly somnolent, if not moribund. From the commercial point of view there was but little to be said for the occupation. But the case for the occupation rested, and must always rest, upon other than commercial considerations. Cyprus was selected on account of the value attributed to it as a strategical point. A strong naval power, holding Cyprus as a properly equipped base, can dominate the Eastern Mediterranean from Tænarus to Tyre, from Tripoli to Thessalonica. The island lies on the flank of the steamship routes which converge upon Port Said and the entrance of the Suez canal. It commands the maritime lines of communication between Constantinople and Syria quite as effectually as Rhodes or Crete, while the point which lies nearest the mainland is just the very last one at which an invader could hope to effect a successful landing.

The Russians, by taking possession of Kars and a considerable extent of Armenia, had made a notable step forward in their gradual advance southward from the Caucasus towards the Gulf of Alexandretta (Issus). It appeared that they were

seeking direct access to the Mediterranean by this route, as well as by Constantinople and the Dardanelles. In possession of Alexandretta, a power hostile to Britain would be as inconvenient and dangerous as in Constantinople, unless a good naval base could be secured for Britain in the near neighbourhood. So far as geographical situation was required, then, Cyprus offered all that was required. By establishing a naval station there, Britain could effect a vast diminution in the value of Alexandretta for any possible adversary.

There was another consideration besides. For a considerable time past the possibility of opening a new route to India, by the construction of a railway running from a port on the Eastern Mediterranean down the Euphrates valley, and so to the head of the Persian Gulf, had been discussed more than once. It was obviously most advisable for the British Government to obtain the largest possible measure of control over the proposed new route to the Far East. For this purpose it would not be necessary to get "that blessed word Mesopotamia" inscribed on the roll of the dependencies of the British Crown. The possession of a point at which, so to speak, a portcullis might be dropped upon the road at any moment would be quite enough. Cyprus, again, was the very point required.

This was the real justification of the Cyprus Treaty. The reason mentioned in the treaty itself, viz., the protection of Turkey against further aggression on the part of Russia, was nothing more than a pretext, and a very thin one at that.

Five thousand battleships in the Gulf of Alexandria could not prevent a single Cossack from riding across the frontier between Russian and Turkish Armenia. The Muscovite might come right down to the Taurus range without drawing their fire. Nor could the British occupation of Cyprus make any difference to the interior government of Asia Minor. A fleet cruising along the Cilician coast might deter the Moslems from butchering the Christians in the maritime towns, but it would be powerless to save a single Christian throat in places like Konieh (Iconium) or Sivas.

The only reason, the only justification, of the measures taken by the Beaconsfield Government with regard to Cyprus, lies in the considerations propounded above, and these were relative to British interests alone.

But in order to make Cyprus such a naval base as the conditions of modern warfare demand, a great deal more was needed over and above the mere hoisting of the Union Jack upon the "Konak" in Larnaca. A complete harbour with docks, store buildings, etc., protected by fortifications and equipped with the newest plant and appliances, had to be constructed. In 1878 there were no harbours in Cyprus of which modern shipping could make any use—nothing but roadsteads. The old harbours of Famagusta and Paphos were choked and silted up, and even had they been in such service-condition as was theirs in their best days, their accommodation would still have been utterly inadequate.

Such harbour-works and fortifications as were needed, in order to make Cyprus really serviceable for the purpose with which it was taken over from Turkey, could not be constructed without a heavy outlay. But the benefits expected to accrue, and the dangers to be averted, might be considered an ample compensation.

As we have already noticed, Great Britain came into Cyprus as a tenant, not as owner. The rent of the "estate" was about £92,000 per annum. But Great Britain might lose much more than this by neglecting to secure the command of the Euphrates valley route, and leaving Cyprus to be occupied, some day or other, by an unfriendly power.

The occupation took place, with a proper degree of pomp and circumstance, in July, 1878. A considerable body of troops was disembarked at Larnaca, and encamped on the outskirts of the town. Climatic conditions, it is said, were largely ignored in the arrangements made for camping the troops. It has also been alleged that Private Thomas Atkins violated his allegiance to the national brew by compelling it to share the honours of his interior with the "vin du pays." This defection brought on its appropriate chastisement:—

Ζῦθος γὰρ οἶνῳ συγχέας ταὐτῳ κύτει,
διχοστατοῦντ' ἄν οὐ φίλως προσεννέποις.
καὶ τῶν πιόντων καὶ κρατουμένων πόνοις
φθογγὰς ἀκούειν ἔστι συμφορᾶς διπλῆς.

"Malarial fever" scourged the camp before

Larnaca. The malady is not dangerous, but it prostrates all the energies of mind and body for the time being. The number of sick cases recorded in the camp while it remained at Larnaca was so large that Cyprus got a bad name as being "fever-stricken," unhealthy, a sort of Hong-Kong. The troops would have suffered much less from the summer heat had they been moved up at once to the drier atmosphere of Nicosia, the capital, which lies almost in the middle of the island, and about 400 feet above the sea. They would have suffered not at all had they been sent to Mount Troodos. But the Troodos camping site had not been discovered, and in any case the time that elapsed between the signing of the treaty and the occupation was too short to allow a site to be prepared up there in the forest.

After all that has been said with regard to the strategical importance of Cyprus, or rather its strategical possibilities, it will not be out of place to give some account of the steps which have been taken to realize these possibilities.

In 1878 there were no serviceable harbours in Cyprus. It was not till five years ago that the work of rendering the old harbour of Famagusta available for modern shipping was taken in hand.

The coasts of the island are entirely defenceless. The only pieces of artillery to be found there are five or six old smooth-bore guns, cast at Woolwich in the time of George IV. These curiosities are mounted on the northern face of the old fortifications erected round Nicosia by the Venetians in 1567. Very possibly they had their part in the

destruction of the Turkish fleet at Navarino. Now they give notice of sunset and sunrise in the month of Ramadan, or signalize such anniversaries as the Sultan's accession day. Time brings its revenges.

The military garrison of Cyprus consists of one company from a line regiment, with a few army ordnance and army service corps details, say a hundred, all told, officers and men together. This imposing force is stationed during the winter at Polymidia, near Limassol, in the summer on Mount Troodos.

Such has been the military force (leaving the native police out of account) by whose presence the civilian government has been supported since 1894. Before that time the garrison consisted of a complete battalion.

Cyprus as a great naval station, a second Malta, still remains within the bounds of the possible, but has not yet, after an occupation of nearly thirty years, been brought within the sphere of the actual. Meanwhile, the rent has been paid regularly year after year. Not, indeed, altogether to the benefit of the Imperial Treasury in Constantinople. Since 1881 the money has been utilized as a contribution towards the payment of interest on various debts contracted by the Turkish Government.¹ But who is expected to find the £92,000 or so per annum which goes into the pockets of Turkey's creditors? The Cypriote.

You have a farm on a lease, paying $x + y$ per

¹"Statesman's Year Book," 1906, p. 1464.

annum, calculated in paper money, depreciated to the extent of 50 per cent. I make an arrangement with your landlord by which the lease is transferred to me, and I covenant to pay $x + y$ reckoned in hard gold, fat British sovereigns. I put in an agent who collects the money from you every year, and over and above that makes you pay his salary. The agent is perfectly honest, but he is as hard as nails; he has to be, whether he likes it not. He has to exact the uttermost farthing. That is what he is sent to do. You send complaints and protests. You get words smoother than butter, and very little besides.

Such, in a parable, is the position of affairs in Cyprus from the Cypriote point of view. It is a point of view which ought not to be ignored, for the Cypriote certainly knows "where the shoe pinches." We made it, but he has to wear it.

Openly and publicly, as the representative of the Sovereign, Sir Garnet Wolseley, the first High Commissioner of Cyprus, proclaimed on July 22nd, 1878, that the new administration would neglect no measure "contributing to the moral and material welfare of the people." Has this pledge been kept?

Since 1878 Cyprus has certainly been governed, as Sir Garnet Wolseley promised, "without distinction of race or religion." Justice has been "equally administered to all." Everyone has equally enjoyed "the equitable and impartial protection of the law."¹

¹ Proclamation of Sir Garnet Wolseley, first High Commissioner, July, 1878.

The road system has been greatly improved and extended. A department of education has been, since 1880, attached to the administration. Much has been done to assist and encourage improvements in the management of the native schools, both Christian and Moslem, and the number of these schools has been largely increased. The forests have been saved from destruction. Efforts have been made to encourage the introduction of new and improved methods and appliances in agriculture. Old-established rights and customs have been respected, and, as far as possible, left untouched.¹

The population of Cyprus in 1881 was about 185,000. In 1901 it had risen to 237,000. This increase was not due to immigration. In 1882 an Order of the Queen in Council granted the Cypriotes a considerable measure of constitutional government. A Legislative Council was established, consisting of twelve native elected members (nine Christian and three Moslem), associated with the High Commissioner (as President), the Chief Secretary, and four or five other leading officials. The native elected members always form a majority of the Legislative Council.²

Cypriotes—both Moslem and Christian—are appointed to act as assessors to the District Judges, and as judges in the village courts, which are empowered to deal with petty offences.

¹ The most ancient existing institution in the island, viz., the Greek language, is still the language "par excellence" of Cyprus.

² The debates are conducted, and all official documents are printed, in three languages—Greek, Turkish, English.

They are not eligible for appointment as heads of departments, but they obtain all sorts of subordinate positions, some of which are important and responsible.

On the whole there has been among the native population of Cyprus a distinct advance in the standard of living and comfort since the island passed under the British *régime*.

Yet the Cypriote is dissatisfied. He maintains that, in spite of apparent improvements, the economic condition of Cyprus has gone steadily from bad to worse since 1878, owing to the crushing fiscal burdens which it has had to bear.

Let us call Mr. George Chacalli, a native Cypriote, to give evidence. Mr. Chacalli, personally, has no reason to be greatly dissatisfied with the British administration. He himself has prospered under it fairly well. He would hardly pretend, *εἰ μὴ θέσιν διαφυλάττων*, that he would have done so well had the Turks continued to govern. "The source of all our miseries," says Mr. Chacalli,¹ "is the annual tribute paid to Turkey."² Under the convention of 1878 England undertook to pay to the Porte the excess of revenue over expenditure, calculated and determined by the average of the last five years preceding the English occupation (*i.e.*, 1873-1877). "England, in her hurry to secure the occupation of Cyprus, did not pay proper attention to this question (of the

¹ "Cyprus under British Rule," p. 43 (Nicosia, 1902).

² *i.e.*, nominally to Turkey, but really retained for payment of interest on certain loans contracted by Turkey.

average surplus of revenue over expenditure), and the amount now paid as tribute is far in excess of the real surplus of revenue over expenditure during the above-mentioned period of five years."

"The annual charges payable (nominally) to Turkey are £87,686, with 4,166,220 okes¹ of salt in kind; £113 11s. 3d. in respect of certain light-dues, and £5,000 for the produce of certain Crown lands; making £92,799 11s. 3d. payable in money, besides the salt in kind."

These dues and payments were arranged for in the Annexes or Supplements to the Cyprus Treaty, signed July 1st, 1878, and February 3rd, 1879, respectively; the latter agreement being a commutation of the "property, revenues and rights" possessed and enjoyed by the Porte in the "Arazimiryé," or Crown Lands in Cyprus, for an annual payment of £5,000.

Mr. Chacalli makes two contentions, viz:

1. The sum of £92,799 is much too heavy an estimate of the surplus of revenue over expenditure for the five years, 1873-1877.

2. Whatever the true estimate may be, Great Britain, and *not* Cyprus, ought to discharge obligations and liabilities incurred for imperial purposes, with which the Cypriotes have no concern.

It must be remembered that the Cypriotes are not reckoned as British subjects. As soon as they

¹ The oke (ὀκάς) = 2·8 pounds. This salt is made at Larnaca, hence the Turkish name of the place "Tuzla" (from tuz = salt), and the mediæval name Salines (Salina—salt-pans). Cf. "Joppa Pans" and "Preston Pans" in Scotland.

leave the island they relapse to their old status of Ottoman subjects, "of all men the most miserable." They cannot claim the protection and assistance of British Embassies and Consulates.

In support of his two-fold contention, Mr. Chacalli cites the *Times*' comment upon his own article. "We occupy Cyprus," said that journal, "for our own purposes, and so long as the purposes are held to be adequate, we ought to be prepared to bear our fair share of the burden."

It was soon discovered that the resources of Cyprus were not sufficient to provide a revenue equal to the payment of £92,799 per annum *over and above* the expenses of administration, *i.e.*, salaries of officials, public works, and so forth. When these expenses had been met, the surplus was a good deal less than the sum required for the "Tribute." To make up the shortage, the Imperial Government had to supply "grants-in-aid." This brought no real benefit to Cyprus. "At present," said the *Times* (September, 1888), "all the proceeds of economical administration and good finance are applied to the reduction of the grant-in-aid, and thus benefit only the British Exchequer. In such circumstances, though we may keep the peace of the island and administer impartial justice to its inhabitants, we cannot restore it to its ancient prosperity and fertility."

In 1889 a Cypriote deputation, headed by the Archbishop of Cyprus, came to England to plead in person for some remission of the fiscal burdens imposed upon the island and its population. The deputies laid before the Imperial Government a

memorial setting forth grievances and suggesting remedies.

"It is reckoned," says the memorial,¹ "that each individual (Cypriote tax-payer) pays a yearly tax about equal to one-fifth of his income. Taxation, we admit, was heavy and oppressive under the former Government. It has been increased much more under the present Government, which, in the course of five years, 1882-1886, collected the sum of £914,835—that is, on an average, £182,967 per annum. In the course of the five years, 1873-1877, immediately preceding the British occupation, the Turkish Government collected the sum of 83,950,051 piastres, equal to £736,405,² that is an average yearly sum of £147,281. Even this is greater than the real amount, for arrears definitely remitted have to be deducted, and allowance has to be made for the difference between Kaimé (paper money) and cash payments in the years 1876 and 1877." The difference was indeed enormous, if it be true, as the memorial asserts, that 100 piastres Kaimé were equivalent to no more than 50 piastres in cash.

Increase of taxation had not been accompanied by increase in production. The Turkish authorities had received a revenue of £301,000 in tithes. The British had not been able to collect more than a net return of £256,000 "in spite of the fact that the produce is often over-assessed." To make

¹ The text of this document is reproduced in Mr. Chacalli's "Cyprus under British Rule," pp. 46-53.

² Reckoning about 114 piastres to the pound sterling. The full rate in Constantinople in 1899 was 120 piastres to the £.

matters worse, at the time when the deputation came to London, the imposition of extra duties in certain markets had operated very injuriously against the exportation of some of the staple products of Cyprus.

“By the taxation that is now paid,” the memorial went on to state, “the English Government collects a much greater sum than is required for the administration of the country, and yet it is necessary to ask Parliament every year for a grant-in-aid.” The grant-in-aid benefits, not the Cypriote taxpayer, but the holders of certain Turkish bonds. Cyprus is forced to contribute towards the payment of interest on loans contracted by the Porte between 1858 and 1881, and the grant-in-aid simply goes to make up the difference, when Cyprus cannot pay—as is almost invariably the case—the full amount of the annual contribution imposed upon her.

The reforms and improvements for which the deputies petitioned were as follows:

1. The conversion of the annual “Tribute” into payment of a lump sum obtained by a loan contracted in the name of the island, and guaranteed by the Imperial Government. Cyprus would then find the interest and sinking fund. But this would entail payments not exceeding £50,000 per annum, only a little over half the amount of the “Tribute.”

2. That the Sovereign alone should have power to veto resolutions or decisions of the Legislative Council; that no duties should be established without the consent of the Council; and that the

elected members should be empowered to introduce bills modifying taxation.

3. That two native members should be added to the personnel of the Executive Council, which consisted only of British officials.

4. That assistance should be given for the promotion of secondary education in Cyprus.

5. The organization of a Department of Agriculture as a branch of the Cyprus Civil Service.

6. The establishment of an Agricultural Credit Bank as a means of rescuing the peasantry from the toils of private money-lenders.

7. The removal of the restrictions laid upon tobacco-planting.

8. An act defining the relations of the Island Government and the orthodox Church of Cyprus.

III.

It goes without saying, that the Cypriote deputies were courteously received by "the powers that be." Their venerable leader, the Archbishop, came in for special attentions, in his ecclesiastical character,—these special attentions being rendered by the authorities of the Church of England. The Bishop of Salisbury (Dr. John Wordsworth) took particular charge of the Cyprian prelate, and it is through him that Archbishop Sophronios was enrolled among the Doctors of Divinity in the University of Oxford, the degree being conferred "*honoris causâ*" at the *Encænia* of 1889. But though all due courtesy

was shown to the members of the deputation, they had, in the end, to return to their country "*re infecta*." The justice of their protests and representations was not denied—indeed, it found open and public recognition in the London press. "In plain language" said one journal "the Cypriotes are sacrificed, in order that the interest on the Turkish loan may be met. This may be a very pleasant arrangement for England, but it is very unfair to Cyprus. The island has an immense future before it, if only it were allowed fair play, and by fair play we mean the power to spend on the island the revenue raised in the island." On some points, naturally enough, the representations made in the "Memorial" of 1889 were controverted by the then High Commissioner of Cyprus, Sir H. Bulwer. But even he admitted, as the *Times* of August 21st, 1889, pointed out, that considering local conditions and circumstances, such as the insufficiency of capital, the scarcity of money, and the uncertainty of the seasons (in other words, of the rains) the amount of revenue raised in Cyprus was large in proportion to its resources. He could not have said less, without showing high disregard for the facts of the case. The amount was, and is, not merely large in proportion, but altogether disproportionate.

It was something, no doubt, to have obtained such recognition of the justice of the Cypriote taxpayer's cause. But the satisfaction was, at best, very scant. No further result was forthcoming. The high hopes, which had been entertained, of certain and speedy relief, were doomed to complete disappointment. "No steps to relieve us of the

payment of the Tribute," writes Mr. Chacalli (*op. cit.* p. 55), "no measures to alleviate the burdens of the people, no public works to develop the resources of the country. Even the Military Exemption Tax¹ and the Trade Tax, the abolition of which was recommended by Sir Robert Biddulph in his despatch of June 7th, 1880, are still collected with the greatest severity by the Government."

Mr. Chacalli goes indeed, rather too far in saying that there has been no undertaking of public works for the development of Cyprus. As a matter of fact, there has been, especially under the last two Governors (Sir W. J. Sendall and Sir W. Haynes Smith) an expenditure of money, by no means insignificant, upon the construction and improvement of roads and bridges in the island. The internal communications are vastly better than they were in 1878. Furthermore, the construction of reservoirs, for purposes of irrigation, was begun in 1898 at two places in the Mesoria, between Nicosia and the Bay of Famagusta. At the same time, not nearly enough has been done to meet and satisfy the needs and requirements of the country and its population.

Five years passed away, after the protest of 1889, bringing no alleviation of fiscal burdens. It was time once more to call upon Baäl, who apparently was asleep, and needed wakening. So the Hellenes of Cyprus assembled in their cities,

¹The Cypriotes, being Ottoman subjects, though not under direct Ottoman Government, are treated as liable to render military service, or pay an exemption impost. But it is not the Ottoman treasury that profits by the collection of this tax.

and resolutions (*ψηφίσματα*) were recorded, of which the following, voted in the convention held at Nicosia, on April 28th, 1895, is a type.

"The Greek inhabitants of the District of Nicosia and Kyrenia, beholding with terror the impending ruin of their country, have assembled and do resolve :

1. That provision ought to be made immediately, to relieve them from heavy taxation leading to certain ruin.

2. That they protest against any further payment of the tribute unjustly imposed upon them.

3. That in the event of any political changes, they declare again, as they have done a thousand times already, that they have one desire only, for the fulfilment of which they have waited for ages—namely, union with Greece, and they are firmly resolved to resist any other procedure, in case of the abandonment of the island by England.

4. That a committee be appointed, consisting of His Beatitude, Sophronios, Archbishop of Cyprus; The Very Reverend Gerasimos, Abbot of Kykkos; Messrs. Pascal Constantinides, Achilleus Liassides, Georgios Chacalli, and others; to communicate with the committees appointed in the districts and draw up and submit to Her Majesty's Government a memorial in accordance with this resolution, and to agitate for the satisfaction of the popular desire."

Alas for the departed glories of the Hellenic race! Such a convention is called, not *ἐκκλησία*, not *ἀλία*, but *συλλαλητήριον*! Why is so ill-omened a name tolerated? It brands the thing as

ineffectual; probably, indeed, contributes to make it so in the end. Συλλαλητήριον—a concourse for talking, for immersion in waves of stormy sound. There is a spasm of passion and excitement—a ψήφισμα—an interview,—a report sent to Downing Street,—and then the end, in the pigeon-holes of the Colonial Office.

I have transcribed this ψήφισμα or resolution at length, as it is a very good example of its class, and clearly expresses, in sum and substance, the hopes and persuasions of the leaders and representatives of the Greek Christian population of Cyprus. To what extent the Moslems of Cyprus took part in the agitation of 1895 I do not know. It is most improbable, however, that they had anything to do with it, in view of the expressions of desire for annexation to Greece. So far as the lightening of fiscal burdens was concerned the Moslems could easily make common cause with their Christian brethren, but for annexation to the Kingdom of Greece they could have no desire. In their opinion—which is supported by the terms of the Cyprus Treaty of 1878—the British, if they abandon Cyprus, must restore the island to its former status of a province of the Ottoman Empire under direct Ottoman authority and administration.

The second Cyprus memorial was drawn up by the delegates of the Greek Christian population assembled at the monastery of Kykkos, their labours being brought to a close on July 26th, 1895.

This document, the text of which is reproduced by Mr. Chacalli in his book (pp. 57-73), opened with a prologue, setting forth the aspiration of the

Cyprian Greeks to union with the Kingdom of Greece. In their view, the British occupation was only a stage in the process of events leading to the fulfilment of the idea of "Reunion with our mother Hellas." This desire had been notified to the British authorities from the very first days of the occupation, and they looked for their long-prayed-for liberation to the generosity of the British people and its sense of right. Only on the understanding that Cyprus was ultimately to be reunited with the free and independent State of Greece had the Christians of Cyprus ever acquiesced in the occupation of their country by Great Britain.

Such was the drift, though not the exact wording of the prologue. It is worth while staying for a moment to consider it, in order to realise, as fully as we can, the Greek-Cypriote point of view—which is the view taken by four-fifths at least of the population. What is the meaning of all this talk about freedom and union with Greece? Are we to understand that, however lightly the Cypriotes were taxed, however lavish the expenditure on public works on the island might be, the Greek majority in the population would still refuse to acquiesce in the British occupation as anything more than a temporary arrangement?

"Yes." So their leaders tell us. "You Britons occupied Cyprus for your own purposes and interests only. We never invited you to come. We could not, of course, prevent your coming. You had, and you have still, the right of the stronger party. But the right, such as it is, which superior force confers, cannot extinguish our right

to form and nourish our own hopes and aspirations—hopes and aspirations springing from facts of racial and religious affinity which have been established for centuries. You have no right to crush those hopes and aspirations. You may despise them. You may turn a deaf ear to our petitions. But the fact that you can do so in safety does not justify you. If you wish to do us full justice, do by us as you did by the inhabitants of the Ionian Islands in 1864. But, if you refuse to recognise our claim to union with Greece, at least refrain from loading us with unjust fiscal burdens. By what right do you saddle us with the expenses and losses entailed by negotiations in which we had no voice, in which we were not considered, and which were intended to serve your interests and schemes, and yours alone? You find that you allowed the Turks to deceive and hoodwink you as to the real position of the Cyprus finances. But what right have you to make *us* suffer for your diplomatic blunders? Is it *thus* that you act upon the exhortation of your Apostle of Imperialism, ‘Take up the white man’s burden’? Will you let us poor ‘Dagoes’ of Cypriotes bear your burden for you?”

So far as “national aspirations” are concerned, the Cypriote Greeks, of course, are free to form and nourish them for themselves. But Great Britain is not bound to encourage them. Moreover, the popular mind is not infallible, and the fact that the governed withhold their consent does not, *per se*, prove the government to be in the wrong. The governed may be unwise, ignorant, petulant, mutinous. It is quite open, however,

for any one to argue—and much might be said on this head—that the precedent of 1864 supplies the true solution of the Cyprian Question. Yet such pleading would be no more than an academic exercise. The terms of the Treaty of 1878 prohibit any transfer of Cyprus to Greece, or to any other power or state save the Ottoman Empire.

But these considerations make no difference in the least degree to the Cypriote's petition and demand for the diminution of his fiscal liabilities. It is not fair that he should have to pay the expenses entailed by arrangements made entirely over his head.

The 1895 memorial embodied statements (in figures) of revenue and expenditure, which proved, beyond all dispute, the soundness of the contention that the British fiscal administration was much more exacting and oppressive than the Turkish, and out of all reasonable proportion to the resources of the island. In the course of seventeen financial years, ending in 1895, the Government of the Occupation collected a total sum of £2,938,090, or, on an average, £172,829 per annum.

Making allowance for two very important considerations, namely, (a) that over £36,000 was raised in 1874 and 1875 by a *temporary* extra tax, and (b) that by being allowed to pay in paper money, the tax-payers profited to the amount of over £96,000 in 1876 and 1877, it was ascertained that the amount of revenue collected by the Turks in the quinquennium 1873-7, when calculated in terms of British money, was £568,769—or, on an average, £113,754 per annum.

From £113,000 per annum to £172,000 is a formidable stride for the Cypriote. He was led to expect of course that Cyprus would “ make progress ” under the British *régime*. But he did not expect that “ progress ” would take *this* line.

On the British side it is argued that the increase is warranted by greater prosperity as evinced by increase in the customs and excise returns. But to this reply there is a rejoinder. It is quite true that these returns have increased by some £30,000 per annum, but then it must be remembered that duties are imposed by the British authorities which were not imposed by their predecessors. Furthermore this sum of £30,000 includes the amount raised by an additional tax, imposed since 1884, upon wine, spirits, raisins, and tobacco. Besides, the sums raised by the “ Locust Tax ” (nominally for destruction of locusts—first imposed in 1881) and the “ Field-Watchman Tax ” (first imposed in 1890) have to be added, as imposts unknown before the British occupation, and when these are reckoned in, the increase in the “ receipt of custom ” is pretty well cancelled. The fact remains, that in 1895 the Cypriote, without any exaggeration, could assert that his taxes had been increased at the rate of fifty per cent.

And now for a statement of the resources of the country. The value of the yearly produce of Cyprus—cereals, fruit, wine, together with the increase of the flock and the herd—was calculated in 1895 as not exceeding £800,000. There are no great industries. Nothing is manufactured for export—unless wine and spirits be counted as

manufactures. The prosperity of the island and its population is very largely, not to say entirely, dependent upon the rainfall. If that should be insufficient, or unseasonable, great distress ensues.

Over against the sum of £2,938,090 collected as revenue from 1878 to 1895, we have the sum of £1,970,850 as expenditure for the same period, yielding an average of £115,932 per annum. The proportion of this sum which was expended upon public works, public instruction (grants to schools), and hospitals, was not very heavy. Between 1884 and 1895 it appears not to have exceeded £17,000 a year. The extreme points in the relation between revenue and expenditure seem to have been touched in 1881-2 and 1891-2. In the former year, the revenue collected ran up to £163,733. The amount of the expenditure was £157,673. In the latter year, the government made what, I believe, is still its record "scoop," £217,161.¹ It spent £112,742.

The reforms and improvements requested in the Memorial of 1895 had already appeared in 1889, the main difference between the two memorials being that the latter went further into points of detail. That such repetition was necessary is a fact which does not altogether redound to the credit of the British authorities. Introduction, by the aid of the Government, allocating public moneys for the purpose, of improved methods of cultivation, under the superintendence of a Govern-

¹ The record was beaten in the financial year 1904-5, when the revenue ran up to £218,804.

ment Director of Agriculture; construction of irrigation-reservoirs and canals; removal of the restrictions imposed upon tobacco-planting; increased grants-in-aid for the schools which the Greeks had, not without efforts and sacrifices on their own part, established in the villages and towns; reorganisation of the police; all these “wants” had been advertised in the petition of 1889, but their reaffirmation, six years later, shows that the fact of their existence had not aroused much attention or concern. Besides these, an increase in expenditure upon the work of afforestation (which was, and is a most important matter for the island) and provision for regular as well as expeditious communications with the outer world were asked for, and improvements in the internal communications as well. There was also a demand for the regular opening of the higher appointments in the civil service to Cypriotes—such places, for instance, as those of the presidents of the district courts in Famagusta, Kyrenia, and Paphos, or the local commandants of police.

“The British Government,” says Mr. Chacalli (p. 73), “again shut their ears to our complaints and just demands.” This, when the situation is viewed from the standpoint of the present day, is less than fair. The request for the appointment of a Government Director of Agriculture, and the organisation of a Department of Agriculture in the civil service, was received favourably, and, in the latter part of 1896, the new department began work under the superintendence of Mr. Panagiotis Gennadios. The internal communications

have undergone a steady process of improvement and extension. In 1899 the British Government advanced £314,000 for various public works. A railroad connecting Nicosia with Famagusta was opened in 1905. Improvements have been made in the harbour of Famagusta. The pecuniary assistance afforded to the native schools of all grades has been greatly increased, and, on the whole, it is quite probable that the Cypriotes are getting just as much education as is good for them. Some appear to get more than enough—excitable souls who are not inspired, but intoxicated, by the waters of Castalia. Finally, as I have pointed out, the construction of irrigation-works has been taken in hand.

Over against these considerations, however, stands the grim fact that the load of taxation is no lighter. Britain has bound upon the backs of the Cypriotes burdens grievous and heavy to bear, and shows no readiness to do the one thing needful, and that is, relieve the population of the island from being chargeable for the "tribute." So long as that root of bitterness remains untouched, the economical condition of Cyprus will continue to be a source of anxiety.

Again, and again, and again, have the representatives of the people assembled in the Legislative Council recorded their protest against the "tribute" as a charge upon the revenues of the island, and their demand for its abolition. Hardly a session of the Legislative Council has passed, since 1895 at least, and the *terminus a quo* might well be fixed much further back, without a protest

against the "tribute," and the oppressive taxation entailed thereby, making its appearance in a prominent place in the reply to the High Commissioner's inaugural address.

Nor have the Cypriotes been left to plead their cause entirely alone. Its justice has been acknowledged in the columns of such journals as the *Times*. The fiscal methods which the island government is obliged to pursue have been sharply criticized by Britons who have visited the locality, and have used their eyes and ears with intelligence, and their criticisms find powerful support in the pronouncements of a writer well-qualified to speak with authority, Sir Hamilton Lang, who resided in Cyprus, as local manager of the Ottoman Bank, for a number of years before the occupation, and has always been in a position to obtain reliable information since he left Cyprus for Constantinople. The reports coming in from the branches of the Ottoman Bank in Larnaca and Nicosia, which necessarily were laid before Sir Hamilton, would by themselves provide significant disclosures of the economic situation in Cyprus. And this is one of Sir Hamilton's latest public expressions of opinion:—"Production has not increased, the value of land has diminished, and taxation is heavier than it was under the Turkish Government."

Of late years, indeed, the authorities at the Colonial Office have had much bigger fish to fry than the financial difficulties of Cyprus. For all that, it is a pity that our savour should be made to stink, though it be only in the nostrils of the

Cypriotes, especially when the removal of half the burden of the "tribute" would avail for the removal of more than half the reproach. Here is where the beginning of financial reform and alleviation ought to be made. The beginning, says Aristotle, is half the whole matter—in this case it would be a good three-quarters.

NOTE 1.—The expenses of the Turkish administration (salaries of the Vali and other officials) are stated in Mr. Chacalli's book (p. 75) to have amounted to no more than £30,000 a year. We must make an indefinite allowance, however, for the collection of certain or uncertain sums, never recorded in government books, by means of which underpaid or irregularly paid functionaries indemnified themselves as far as they could. But even on the supposition that for every cent sanctioned by authority, two were actually collected, the total cost of the administration would not have exceeded £60,000 a year. The British administration has never cost less than £100,000. There would be more readiness to acknowledge that the change was worth the difference, did not the economic decline of the last twenty-five years overshadow the advantages ensured by the characteristic virtues of British administrators.

NOTE 2.—The Porte appears to have derived a real surplus of revenue over expenditure from Cyprus. But the true quotation of the surplus, in terms of British money, was not £92,686, but £66,216, a formidable difference.

NOTE 3.—Statement of revenue and expenditure in Cyprus, for the financial years (ending March 31st) 1901-5:—

				Revenue.	Expenditure.
				£	£
1901	...	...	...	215,268	135,387
1902	...	...	...	198,090	135,824
1903	...	...	...	160,112	139,714
1904	...	...	...	215,360	140,284
1905	...	...	...	218,884	154,406

THE LATIN CONQUEST OF CYPRUS

THE first, and most successful—or least disappointing—of the Crusades took effect in the establishment of a Christian state in Palestine, organized in accordance with the feudal institutions of Western Europe. This feudal state, generally known as the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, lasted for eighty-eight years, viz. from A.D. 1099 to A.D. 1187. Its existence at all times was precarious, being maintained, and that with difficulty, by almost incessant fighting. It was finally overthrown by the far-famed Saladin, who in the year 1187 defeated King Guy de Lusignan, and took him prisoner, at a place called Kurn-Hattin, on the hills overlooking Tiberias and the Sea of Galilee. The battle was fought on July 1st, and on October 2nd, in the same year, Jerusalem opened its gates to receive the Mohammedan conqueror. Once more the Holy City passed into captivity to the Paynim. The news of this calamity threw Western Christendom into the depths of grief, dismay, and wrath. Henry II. of England and Philip Augustus of France both assumed the Cross, and their example was followed by the Counts of Champagne and Flanders, and a multitude of barons and knights, who devoted themselves to the sacred cause of the recovery of the Holy City and Land from the unrighteous dominion of Islam. Henry II.,

by the imposition of a special tax, called the Saladin Tithe, raised the sum of £70,000—an enormous amount for those days—for the expenses of the new Crusade, and in addition to this sum a contribution of £60,000 was wrung from the Jews resident in England. But the King of England died before he could take any further measures for the fulfilment of his vow.

The Crown of England passed to Henry's eldest surviving son Richard, who, having collected funds, over and above the revenue of the Saladin Tithe, by the sale of earldoms and feudal rights, and other means less allowable, joined forces with his ally, Philip of France, at Vezelai in the year 1190. At that time Richard and Philip were as good friends as two men, whose characters and interests differed so widely, could be. Richard had secured Philip's support in the parricidal war which he waged against his father Henry, by doing homage to the French king, for all the possessions and dependencies of the English Crown that lay on the Continental side of the Channel. He was also betrothed to Philip's sister, Adelais or Alice.

The plan of campaign which the two sovereigns proposed to carry out in concert was to march overland to Marseilles and Genoa, and thence embark their hosts for the Holy Land. The winter was to be spent in Sicily.

Philip and his army arrived at Messina in Sicily, the appointed waiting-station, before Richard, who, having to wait at Genoa for his fleet, which came round by the Straits of Gibraltar, did not

rejoin his comrade-in-arms till nearly the end of September.¹

During the winter of 1190-1, the French and Anglo-Norman crusaders, having no Moslems to fight with, kept their hands in practice for the approaching conflict by joining battle with each other, or with the inhabitants of Sicily. The jealousies and quarrels, personal and international, that fermented in the camp, well-nigh brought the expedition to an end before it had well started. There is a Turkish proverb, rude but eminently true, which says that "the fish begins to stink from the head." If the lesser barons and knights, with their esquires, men-at-arms, etc., quarrelled and fought, there was little cause for wonder, in view of the unpleasant relations which had taken the place of the friendship formerly subsisting between the Kings of England and France. Philip took offence—and not without reason—at Richard's overbearing demeanour, and, in order to secure himself against the outbreak of an open conflict, invited Tancred, the Norman King of Sicily, to form a secret alliance with him against the King of England. Tancred betrayed the correspondence to Richard, who denounced Philip to his face as a traitor. But censures on the ground of bad faith came with a very ill grace from Richard, who had shamelessly repudiated his engagement with the sister of Philip, having bestowed his affections upon Berengaria, daughter of Sancho, King of Navarre.

¹ T. A. Archer, "The Crusade of King Richard," pp. 19 and 28.

The rupture of the betrothal of Richard to the Princess Adelais was, in part at least, the work of Richard's mother Eleanor, the Queen-dowager, who arrived at Messina in the spring of 1191, bringing Berengaria with her. When Queen Eleanor arrived, Philip had already set sail for St. Jean d'Acre. Richard refused to stir before the arrival of his mother and his new *fiancée*. Philip with equal firmness refused to wait—and, indeed, it was hardly to be expected that he should wait.

Holy Week had set in before Richard sailed for the Holy Land. The embarkation took place on April 8th or 9th, Monday or Tuesday before Easter.¹ A large vessel was set apart for Berengaria of Navarre and Joanna, widow of William the Good, King of Sicily, and sister of Richard. On Good Friday, April 12th, a stormy wind came up from the south, and scattered the fleet. Richard himself found refuge in the harbour of Rhodes, where he was joined in time by the rest of the armada, with the exception of Berengaria's vessel and two others, which were driven by stress of weather towards Cyprus. One of these vessels was wrecked on the south-west coast of the island, and those who succeeded in making their escape to land were arrested, plundered of such belongings as they had been able to save, and shut up in prison. Berengaria's ship weathered the storm, and was brought without damage into the road-

¹ Wednesday, April 10th, according to Richard of Devizes, in Archer, *op. cit.* p. 57.

stead of Limassol, on the southern coast of the island.

Cyprus, which had been formally annexed and occupied by the Romans in B.C. 58, was assigned, on the division of the Roman Empire, to the eastern half, and at the date of Richard's Crusade was still—*de jure* at least—a province of the East Roman or Byzantine Empire. But *de facto* it was, and had been for some five or six years, outside the jurisdiction of the Eastern Emperor. In the year 1185, Isaac Comnenus, a member of the imperial house, had presented himself in the island, bringing with him documents, purporting to be imperial letters-patent, constituting him governor of Cyprus. The letters were forged, but they served their purpose. Isaac obtained recognition as governor, and having secured himself in possession, declared himself an independent sovereign, assuming the title of emperor. The rightful (or at any rate, the more legitimate) emperor, who reigned at Constantinople, sent a fleet and army to put down the usurper and to recover possession of the island, but the expedition was totally and disastrously defeated by the joint forces of Isaac Comnenus and the famous admiral of Sicily, Margaritone. Comnenus showed what manner of man he was in the barbarous treatment to which he subjected the imperial commanders who fell into his hands. His cruelty on that occasion was fully in keeping with his general use of the authority which he had so fraudulently assumed. In the twelfth century, oppression was no new thing in Cyprus. But Isaac Comnenus was the worst tyrant of all who

had ever ground the face of the Cypriote people. Even the dark age of Turkish misrule in the island has nothing to show that equals the measure of this petty potentate's unbridled iniquity.¹ Comnenus was in Limassol, or in the neighbourhood, when Berengaria's vessel cast anchor in the roads. His ill-fame had already come to the ears of those who were on board, and his invitations to land were not unreasonably received with suspicion, which must have deepened as soon as it was ascertained that he had allowed, if not ordered, the imprisonment of a number of Crusaders. Berengaria's escort declared that they only desired to replenish their stores of food and water; but the island despot, incensed at their refusal to come ashore, prepared to attack them in force, when King Richard, who with the rest of the fleet had left Rhodes on May 1st, entered the bay of Limassol, just in time to avert the danger.

Richard's wrath rose high and fierce when the tale of Comnenus' evil doings was recounted. He sent envoys to the shore, demanding full and instant satisfaction for the injuries inflicted upon his people. The demand was contemptuously refused, and Richard gave orders to his army to get out boats and force a landing. Comnenus mustered his own array, caused hasty defences to be thrown up along the beach, and made ready to receive the attack. But his Cypriote levies gave way before the onslaught of the English and Norman knights and

¹ Hackett, "History of the Church of Cyprus," pp. 55-8; Satha, "Bibliotheca Græca Medii Aevi," Tom. II.

men-at-arms, and fled in all directions, leaving the town of Limassol, and everything in it, in the hands of the invaders.¹

Richard effected this landing on May 6th, A.D. 1191. During the night Comnenus rallied his scattered forces and marched them down to a place called Colossi, six miles to the west of Limassol. News of this move being brought, the King of England marched out on the night of May 7th and attacked the camp of the Cypriotes under cover of the darkness. Comnenus made good his escape in the confusion, abandoning his camp and army to the tender mercies of the enemy, which were inclined to be cruel. A splendid booty was carried off by the victors—Comnenus' treasure-chests, armour, horses, tents, and imperial banner. The banner, which was all glorious with wrought gold, was sent to the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds in England. What became of it afterwards is not known. Probably some of Henry VIII.'s commissioners, could they be brought to life again, might give curious and interesting information.²

Four days later, on May 11th, Guy de Lusignan, King of Jerusalem—now a king without a kingdom—landed at Limassol. He had been kept in captivity by Saladin for two years, and then liberated on binding himself by a solemn oath never to take up arms thenceforth against the Sultan of Egypt. Guy took the oath, procured absolution from it by the good offices of the priesthood, at the first

¹T. A. Archer, "The Crusade of King Richard," pp. 62-3.

²Id., pp. 63-4.

available opportunity, and having collected an army, laid siege to St. Jean d'Acre.¹ The defenders held out stubbornly, and the winter of 1190 found the Crusading host, though greatly augmented by reinforcements from Europe, still outside the walls. In that same winter, Guy's wife, Sibylle, through marriage with whom he had obtained the crown of Jerusalem, fell sick and died. Conrad of Montferrat, the Seigneur of Tyre, now persuaded, or compelled, Sibylle's sister and heritrix, Isabelle, to obtain a divorce from her husband, Homfroi de Toron, and, this being done, took her to wife. The death of Sibylle had left Isabelle the heiress to the crown of Jerusalem, for which Conrad, as her husband, now put in a claim, which was of course vigorously contested by Guy de Lusignan and his friends. It was decided that the question should be referred for arbitration to the Kings of England and France upon their arrival. Philip of France arrived at St. Jean d'Acre on April 13th, Easter Eve. At that moment, Richard's fleet was scattered by the storm in the Cretan Sea. Now Guy de Lusignan, being one of the nobility of Poitou, which was a dependency of the Crown of England, was a vassal of Richard. To support his claim to the crown of Jerusalem would be to strengthen the influence of England in Palestine—and that, from the French point of view, would have been a blunder worse than a crime. Philip, of course, could not arbitrate before his ally arrived.

¹ Accho of the Hebrews, Ptolemaïs of the Greeks, Akka of the Arabs; on the coast of North Palestine.

But he might not be careful to conceal his sympathies and antipathies. Or it may be that Guy attempted to procure his favour in advance, and failed. At any rate, Guy found soon after Philip's arrival that his hopes depended upon Richard of England, and, hearing that Richard was in Cyprus, or in the neighbourhood thereof, he set sail to meet him on the way, and, if possible, make sure of his support. He found him in possession of Limassol, and waiting to see what Comnenus' next move was to be. With Guy de Lusignan came his brother Geoffroi, and other barons of the Holy Land, also the Prince of Antioch and his son, the Count of Tripoli. "These," says Roger of Hoveden, "offered their services to the King, and became his men, swearing fealty to him against all folk." On the same day came messengers from Comnenus offering satisfaction for the past and services for the future. A favourable reply was returned, and Comnenus presented himself in the Crusaders' camp, where, in the presence of the barons, he did homage and swore fealty to the King of England. Within a few hours of this ceremony, however, he certified his bad faith by clandestine flight, and having rejoined his own following, sent back a message of insult and defiance.¹

This message, indeed, was not altogether displeasing to Richard, who was ever a passionate lover of fighting. But before setting out to avenge the insult put upon him, he had himself united with Berengaria in the bonds of holy matrimony

¹ Hackett, *op. cit.* pp. 66-70; Archer, *op. cit.* pp. 64-7.

by the ministrations of the Bishop of Evreux at Limassol, on Sunday, May 12th, the festival of SS. Nereus and Achilles. Berengaria was also crowned Queen of England on the same day.¹ It is not often that a bride has a honeymoon so exciting as that of Queen Berengaria.

From the raptures of the nuptial festivities Richard turned to the more solemn and earnest joys of campaigning. One-half of his fleet followed by sea the advance of the army along the southern coast eastward, the other half cruising round the island and seizing all the craft found in the several bays and roadsteads. Richard marched without opposition as far as Larnaca, and then, detaching Guy de Lusignan with part of the army to attack Famagusta, the chief town and harbour on the east coast, marched inland with the remainder upon Nicosia, the capital, which lies in the Mesaoria or midland plain. At Tremithousia, some twenty miles from Nicosia, Richard found himself confronted by Comnenus and a Cypriote army. A pitched battle was fought, in which Comnenus was again defeated, and had a narrow escape of being taken prisoner. He escaped to the castle of Kantara, in the northern mountain range, and from thence to the monastery-fortress of Hagios Andreas, at the north-east extremity of the island. Richard rode triumphantly into Nicosia, which opened its gates without any resistance. Meanwhile, Guy had taken possession of Famagusta.

There remained, however, several strongholds

¹ Archer, p. 68.

in which Cypriote garrisons still held out, and without the reduction of these the conquest of the island could not be deemed secure. In the south-west region, Paphos, and in the northern, the town of Kyrenia and the three mountain-fortresses, St. Hilarion, Buffavento and Kantara, were capable of keeping Richard's forces occupied for months in besieging and forcing them to surrender.¹ Richard could not afford to spend much time in Cyprus, and a stubborn, well-sustained resistance on the part of the garrisons might have compelled him to restore the island to Comnenus. But the Cypriotes fought with no great spirit to uphold the cause of their *soi-disant* Emperor, and truly, if ever a ruler was righteously hated by his subjects, it was this tyrant, in whom all the vices of the Byzantine court were incarnate.

The surrender of Kyrenia, where Comnenus had placed his daughter and a large amount of treasure for safety, determined him to throw himself upon the mercy of the conqueror. He requested but one favour—that he should not be fettered with chains of iron. Richard granted this request, substituting silver for iron chains, and handed him over to Guy de Lusignan, to keep in ward. Paphos and the castles in the northern mountains surrendered at the same time, or soon after, and by the end of May Richard was in full and undisputed possession of the whole island (June 1st, A.D. 1191).²

The ultimate fate of Isaac Comnenus is variously

¹ Appendix A.

² Archer, pp. 67-9.

reported by the chroniclers, but the most probable account is that Guy de Lusignan gave him into the hands of the Hospitallers, who imprisoned the fallen despot in their strong castle of Margat, on the coast of Syria, where he died. His daughter was made lady-in-waiting to Queen Berengaria, in whose retinue she came to St. Jean d'Acre on Whitsun Eve, June 1st, 1191. She remained in attendance on Berengaria, who took her back to England, but was obliged to restore her to liberty in 1194, this being one of the conditions exacted by Henry VI. of Germany for the release of Richard from captivity. The ground upon which Henry VI. claimed the liberation of Comnenus' daughter was that of kinship, her mother being sister of William II. of Sicily, and niece to Constantia of Sicily, Henry's wife. After her release, the daughter of Comnenus married Raymond de S. Gilles, Count of Toulouse, who subsequently divorced her. Towards the end of 1202, the fleet which brought the Flemish contingent to the Fourth Crusade put into Marseilles. The Cypriote princess was residing in Marseilles at the time, and accepted the proposals of a Flemish knight, who had conceived the design of marrying her and claiming the crown of Cyprus in her name. The marriage took place, and the knight of Flanders proceeded to Cyprus, and presented himself before King Amaury de Lusignan, brother and successor of Guy. Amaury affected to regard the claimant as a madman, but delivered a stringent order that he should either quit the kingdom or be put to death.¹

¹ Hackett, p. 62 ; Archer, p. 69 (note).

In following the fortunes of Comnenus' daughter, we have somewhat anticipated the course of events. We must return to Richard Cœur-de-Lion, whom we left in Cyprus at the beginning of June, 1191, in full possession of the island.

Richard set sail from Famagusta for Acre on June 5th, having already sent on before him a squadron escorting Berengaria and Joanna. On the 8th he arrived in the camp of the Crusaders, and was received with loud rejoicings.¹ The besieged, though harder pressed than ever, after Richard's arrival, still maintained a gallant defence, and it was not till July 3rd that the town fell, having defied the Christian hosts for two years. During that month of July there was great strife among the leaders of the Crusade over the rival claims of Guy de Lusignan and Conrad de Montferrat to the crown of Jerusalem. It seems a trifle absurd that this lion-and-unicorn quarrel for the crown should have broken out while Jerusalem and all the Holy Land lay still in the power of the Moslem. However, the Crusaders took it for granted that Jerusalem would be recovered, and it was just as well that they should settle beforehand who was to be king there, when the infidel should have been once more expelled.

Philip Augustus now openly favoured Conrad de Montferrat. Richard championed the cause of Guy de Lusignan. At last an agreement was come to, the terms of which were (1) that Guy should retain the crown for life, with reversion to Conrad

¹ Archer, pp. 69 and 79.

and Conrad's children by Isabelle, the heiress of the extinct kingdom; (2) that Conrad should be made Count of Tyre, Sidon and Beyrout; and (3) that in the event of the decease of Conrad and his wife while Richard was still in Palestine, the crown of Jerusalem should be absolutely at Richard's disposal. Soon after this arrangement had been made, Philip left Acre and returned to France.—August 1st, 1191.¹

Richard had appointed two lieutenants—Richard de Canville and Robert of Turnham—to govern his new conquest. Richard de Canville, however, appears to have died soon after his appointment—either in Cyprus or at St. Jean d'Acre—and his colleague Robert was left in sole charge. It was then that the inhabitants of the mountain-region in the south-west of Cyprus rose in arms against the dominion of the alien, proclaiming as their ruler a monk who was said to be a kinsman of Isaac Comnenus. The insurrection was quickly put down by Robert of Turnham, who captured the pretender and hanged him. But the news of the insurrection disquieted Richard. He could not spare a large detachment from his army in the occupation of Cyprus, and he saw that a large force was necessary if peace and order were to be preserved. He needed all his men for the operations of the Crusade, and when that was over, he would still need every warrior whose services he could obtain to repair the mischief which his evil-minded brother John was already working in England, and

¹ Archer, pp. 118-122; Hackett, p. 69.

defend his possessions in Normandy and Anjou against the aggressive designs of Philip Augustus. These considerations set him thinking how he might most profitably dispose of his new conquest, and he was glad to sell it to the Knights of the Temple for 100,000 byzants, of which 40,000 were to be paid in advance, and the rest by instalments.

The substitution of the Templars' rule for that of Richard's lieutenant was an exchange of whips for scorpions. Clearly, the Templars entertained the loftiest contempt for the Cypriotes, for the force which they sent to occupy Cyprus was absurdly small. Their garrison of Nicosia consisted of no more than 107 men all told—14 knights, 29 esquires, and 64 men-at-arms. Infuriated by the arrogance and cruelty of these fighting monks, and encouraged by the smallness of their force, the Cypriotes rose once more in arms, and besieged the garrison of Nicosia in the citadel, which was ill-provided with food and water. This took place on Easter Eve, 1192. The knights, finding themselves unable to resist a siege, offered to evacuate the island at once, if their lives were spared. But the Cypriotes thirsted for vengeance, and rejected the proposal, whereupon the knights resolved to cut their way out, or die in the attempt. On Easter morning, April 5th, they attended mass in the castle chapel, then armed themselves, and suddenly rushed out upon the enemy, whom they caught completely by surprise. The Cypriotes were seized with panic and fled in all directions, pursued by the Templars, who slaughtered them without mercy. A crowd of miserable fugitives

sought refuge in a church, but the Templars forced the doors and slew every soul they found within.¹

The flames of rebellion had been quenched in a torrent of blood, but the Knights of the Temple resolved to concern themselves no more with Cyprus, and entreated Richard to resume possession, which he did, paying back the 40,000 byzants already received.

Richard spent Easter that year—1192—at Ascalon. Soon after Easter, the Prior of Hereford arrived from England, bringing evil news. John, the King's brother, had expelled the Bishop of Ely, who was Chancellor of the Kingdom, and was exacting oaths of fealty from the barons of England. Richard saw that if he stayed any longer in the Holy Land he was like to lose his kingdom. He therefore laid the matter before the Crusading chieftains present with him, urging the necessity that lay upon him of returning to his own country, and promising to maintain a strong force of knights and men-at-arms in his absence. The chiefs replied that in that case it would be necessary to appoint a new king, whom all might obey, and they prayed that the crown of Jerusalem might be given at once to Conrad of Montferrat.² Richard saw no way out of the difficulty save by consent to this request, and envoys were despatched to Tyre to announce the election of Conrad. The Count of

¹ Satha, "Bibliotheca Græca Medii Aevi," Tom. II., Intr., pp. 75-6.

² The salient points in this Crusader's life are given by Archer, *op. cit.* p. 112 (note).

Tyre exulted greatly at the news, but his destiny allowed him a very short and fleeting enjoyment of his honours. On April 27th, within a few days of receiving the joyful news of his election to the kingdom, he was murdered. Richard was accused of having procured his death—but the murderers were emissaries of the "Old Man of the Mountain," the chief of the Assassins, a society whose ramifications extended over Syria, Armenia, and Persia.

Conrad being dead, the Crusading barons elected Richard's nephew, Henri de Champagne, to be King of Jerusalem. To this Richard gave his consent, and Henri secured his position by marrying Conrad's widow Isabelle. Guy de Lusignan was now completely deprived and disinherited. Richard felt himself in duty bound to provide some consolation for the loss of Jerusalem, and this he did by offering him the sovereignty of Cyprus. It is not quite certain whether the offer was unconditional or not—in other words, whether Guy was required to make himself responsible for any payment of money. The historians of the time are at variance in their testimony. It is possible that Guy had to find the 40,000 byzants which were owing to the Templars, and that when this sum was paid, the King of England made no further claim.¹

Guy took possession of his new kingdom in 1193. He brought over to Cyprus, as a first contingent, 300 knights, upon whom he bestowed

¹ Hackett, pp. 62-3, 64-70; Archer, pp. 217-35.

fiefs out of the royal domain, which had been greatly enlarged by Isaac Comnenus' confiscations, and the seizure of lands belonging to those who had been implicated in the recent rebellions. The population of the island had been greatly reduced, mainly by the flight of numbers who preferred exile to Frankish dominion. Guy caused proclamation to be made in Syria and Armenia that the houses and lands of the refugees would be restored to them if they returned by a certain appointed day. Failing that, their properties would be assigned to others. The proclamation, however, did not produce the results that Guy hoped for, and in order to fill the vacant places he invited settlers from Syria and the neighbouring regions. This invitation met with a ready response. All sorts and conditions of men flocked over to Cyprus, and became fief-holders. Even cobblers and masons and interpreters came, and were made nobles and landed proprietors. So lavish were Guy's grants that the Crown domain was unduly diminished, and in order to provide a proper estate for the King, Guy's brother and successor, Amaury, had to revoke some of these grants.

One of the mediæval chroniclers says that Guy de Lusignan, being about to take possession of his kingdom, wrote to Saladin for advice respecting the government of it. In answer to this request, Saladin said to Guy's envoys—"I have no great liking for your master" (this is not surprising, when we remember how Guy broke his word of honour with Saladin)—"but since he has sent to me for counsel, take this word to him—'Let him

give all, if he will possess all.'"¹ Certainly, Guy appears to have acted on this principle, and the measures he took had the effect of investing the name of Lusignan with associations of liberality and kindness, which it never afterwards entirely lost.

The constitution of the kingdom of Cyprus was in most respects identical with that of the kingdom of Jerusalem. In fact, the celebrated feudal code known as the Assizes of Jerusalem was adopted for the administration of Cyprus, and to this circumstance the preservation of that code is largely due. The Assizes of Jerusalem were originally compiled in the French language, under the direction of Godfrey de Bouillon, the conqueror of Jerusalem, in the year 1100. The original copy was kept in the church of the Holy Sepulchre. It was lost in 1187 when Saladin recovered the city for Islam, but its contents were preserved by oral tradition till the middle of the thirteenth century, when they were again committed to writing by Jean d'Ibelin, Count of Jaffa, and guardian of the young King Henri I. of Cyprus. A final revision was made in Cyprus in the year 1369 by a commission of sixteen persons representing the estates of the realm. The code, thus revised, was kept in the cathedral church of Sta. Sofia, in Nicosia, the capital of the island. It remained in force during the Venetian occupation, from 1489 to 1571, an Italian version being made when the sovereignty of the Republic succeeded that of the Lusignan princes.²

¹ The story is quoted by Mas Latrie, "*Histoire de l'Ile de Chypre*."

² Hackett, p. 71.

By the provisions of this code Cyprus was constituted a limited monarchy, the royal prerogative being confined to the exercise of military authority. Public affairs were dealt with by two courts, the High Court, or King's Court, and the Lower Court, or Court of the Bourgeois, *i.e.*, the Burgesses.

In the High Court the King or his deputy presided. It was composed of the fief-holders and high civil functionaries, and decided all the most important affairs of the realm. Without its consent and authority no laws—or, as they were called, usages—could be passed.

The Court of the Bourgeois took cognizance of all matters concerning the inhabitants of the towns—the bourgeois class, consisting of merchants and artisans. It was also responsible for the police administration. Its president was an official who bore the title of Vicomte.

The nucleus of the class of landed proprietors was formed by the knights and squires who accompanied Guy when he took possession in 1193, and those who subsequently came over from the Continent in answer to his invitation to settle in the kingdom. Next to these were the bourgeois, *i.e.*, the traders and artisans residing in the towns. Of the rural population there were five distinct classes before the conquest of Cyprus by Cœur-de-Lion, and these five divisions were retained. The lowest class of the peasantry was known as the *Parici*. They were serfs, regarded and treated very much as slaves. Every *Paricos* householder had to pay the lord of the manor an

annual impost of fifty Cyprian byzants,¹ and a third of the produce of the plot of ground which he cultivated. He was also bound to give two days' labour every week on his lord's fields, receiving for this work nothing beyond his food. The *Parici* were liable to be sold or exchanged, and any punishment might be inflicted upon them, save death, by the lord of the manor. Next above them were the *Perperiarrii*, whose name was derived from the Greek word *ὑπέρπυρον*, an alternative designation for the byzant. The *Perperiarrii* and their children were free, being the descendants of *Parici*, who had purchased manumission from the Byzantine governors in former ages. But though not bound to the soil as the *Parici* were, they paid an annual tribute of fifteen byzants to their feudal lords. Above them, again, were the *Lefteri*, who had been emancipated either for payment or by the goodwill of their lords, but paid a certain proportion of the produce of their fields and gardens. The *Albani*, or Albanians, were descendants of Albanian soldiers, who had originally been brought to Cyprus to guard the coasts against piratical raids. These coast-guards, having settled down in the island, married native women, and their progeny retained the name of Albanians, and continued to bear arms and hold lands. By the twelfth century, however, they had lost their distinctive military character, and were simply cultivators of the soil, though they drew pay for the supposed discharge of military duties.

¹ Appendix B.

Guy de Lusignan, finding them quite useless from a military point of view, stopped their pay and withdrew the right of bearing arms, but apparently left them in possession of their holdings.

A fifth class of the rural population was known as the *White Venetians*. According to William of Tyre, the Doge of Venice, Vital Michiele, set out in the year 1123 for the Holy Land, with a fleet of seventy-two ships, to lend a helping hand to the King of Jerusalem. This Venetian expedition took part in the siege of Tyre, which was surrendered by the Saracens in the following year. The Venetians had undertaken to help the Crusaders for a twelvemonth, and this period seems to have expired soon after the fall of Tyre. Some of the Venetians then went over to Cyprus, which at the time was still a province of the East-Roman Empire, and settled there. Guy de Lusignan conferred a number of privileges and exemptions upon them, one of their privileges being the right of having their causes tried by a Venetian nobleman who resided in Nicosia. The White Venetians recognized no authority save that of the King and their Resident, but, as an act of courtesy, they paid a small sum annually to the lord of the manor on whose land they were settled.¹

Guy de Lusignan died in April, 1194. He is sometimes spoken of as the first King of Cyprus, but the phrase is inaccurate, for he never assumed that title. His coins, it is true, bear the inscrip-

¹ Hackett, pp. 70-4.

tion "Rex Guido" on the obverse, and "De Cipro" on the reverse side. But the word "Rex" refers to Guy's claims to the crown of Jerusalem, of which he regarded himself as having been unjustly deprived. Moreover, the coins, though they bear his name, are not stamped with his image. On the obverse they display a cross with limbs of equal length, on the reverse a tower with a star.¹ No coins of Guy's successor Amaury are extant, but when we come to Amaury's successor Hugues I. we find coins stamped with the figure of the King, who is crowned, and bearing the legend, "Hugo Rex Cipri."²

Guy de Lusignan, whilst claiming to be King of Jerusalem, did not claim to be more than Seigneur, or Lord, of Cyprus. It was his successor Amaury who first assumed the royal style and insignia. In the spring of 1195 Amaury sent two envoys to Europe—the Archdeacon of Lydda, whose mission was to negotiate with the Pope for the organization of a Latin Church Establishment in Cyprus, and Rainer of Djebail, who presented himself before the Emperor Henry VI. with the request that the Emperor would be pleased to receive the Seigneur of Cyprus as a vassal and liegeman of the Holy Roman Empire, and authorise him to assume the title and badges of royalty. Henry VI. was well pleased to accept Amaury's oath of allegiance, taken in his name by Rainer. He was at the moment busily engaged

¹ Satha, *op. cit.*, Plate II., No. 11.

² *Id.*, *op. cit.*, Plate II. No. 12.

in preparations for a crusade, and promised to visit Cyprus on the way to the Holy Land, and be present in person at Amaury's coronation. But Henry did not live to carry out his purpose. The coronation of Amaury, however, took place in September, 1197, the ceremony being performed by Conrad, Archbishop of Hildesheim and Chancellor of the Empire.¹

Henri de Champagne, King of Jerusalem, met his death by falling from a window in his house at St. Jean d'Acre, on the 10th September, 1197. Thus for the second time Isabelle of Jerusalem was left a widow. Henri's place was taken by Amaury of Cyprus, who was married to Isabelle and crowned King of Jerusalem at Beyrout, in Syria, in the last week of October in the same year, and thus the crowns of Cyprus and Jerusalem were for the first time united. On the death of Amaury, however, the two crowns were separated. His son Hugues I. succeeded to the crown of Cyprus, but that of Jerusalem was inherited by Marie, daughter of Conrad de Montferrat by his marriage with Isabelle. Marie became the wife of Jean de Brienne in 1208, and their daughter Isabelle married the Emperor Frederick II., bringing the thorny crown of Jerusalem as her dowry. Frederick II. fell under the ban of the Papacy, and in 1247 Innocent IV., by a remarkable stretch even of Papal power, relieved Henri I., King of Cyprus, of his allegiance to the Empire, and constituted the realm a fief of the Holy See, whilst

¹ Mas Latrie "Histoire," tom i.; Röhricht, "Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem," pp. 666-9.

he conferred upon Henri the title of Lord of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. This title was borne by Henri's son and successor, Hugues II., who reigned from 1253 to 1267, and was the last King of Cyprus in the direct line of descent from the Counts of Lusignan. Hugues II. was succeeded by his cousin Hugues d'Antioche, who belonged to the princely house of Antioch, founded in the eleventh century by Bohemond, son of Robert Guiscard, the Norman conqueror of Sicily. Hugues d'Antioche, who had been appointed Protector of the kingdom in his predecessor's lifetime, received the crown of Cyprus at Nicosia in the month of December, 1267, and on the 24th September, 1269, was crowned King of Jerusalem at Tyre. From that time forward the two crowns remained constantly associated. Towards the end of the fourteenth century a third crown was added to these two. Leo VI., King of Cilicia and Little Armenia, died at Paris in 1393. Between his family and that of the Kings of Cyprus there was affinity, which had originated in the marriage of a daughter of Amaury de Lusignan to one of Leo's predecessors and namesakes, nearly two hundred years before. The next of kin to Leo VI. was Jacques I. of Cyprus, who inherited his title—beyond which, indeed, there was little or nothing to inherit—and thus acquired the right to be proclaimed as King of Cyprus, Jerusalem, and Armenia. Jacques I.'s great grand-daughter Carlotta, who became Queen of Cyprus in 1458, married Ludovico, son of the Duke of Savoy. Ludovico of Savoy was made King-Consort, and

thus the threefold crown and title passed into his family. Carlotta and her husband were driven out of Cyprus in 1460, but neither of them ever relinquished the claim to be regarded as the rightful sovereign of the island, and Carlotta in particular not only asserted her claims, but made more than one attempt to enforce them and regain possession of the realm. All her schemes, however, were frustrated by the Venetians, who, after the marriage of Caterina Cornaro and Jacques II. of Cyprus in 1472, became the protectors of the kingdom, and in 1489, having persuaded Caterina, who survived both her husband and her son, to abdicate, annexed Cyprus to the dominions of the Republic.

Carlotta de Lusignan, in spite of her failures, continued to assert her claims till the year 1485, when she abdicated in favour of her nephew, Carlo I. of Savoy, from whom the title of King of Cyprus, Armenia, and Jerusalem has been handed down, from one generation to another, to the present King of Italy, who inherited it from his mother, Margarita of Savoy.¹

The interest of the mediæval history of Cyprus centres almost entirely upon two localities—Nicosia, the capital, and Famagusta, the seaport on the east coast.

Nicosia is almost in the centre of the island, the distances by road to the coast being 16 miles to Kyrenia on the northern coast, 36 to Famagusta

¹ See Bishop Stubbs' paper on the Mediæval Kingdoms of Cyprus and Armenia in "Essays on Mediæval and Modern History."



NICOSIA, FROM THE SOUTH.

on the east, 26 to Larnaca on the south, and about 25 to Morphou, which lies due west. From Paphos, on the south-west coast of the island, to Apostolos Andreas at its north-east horn, is a distance of about 140 miles as the crow flies, and Nicosia lies just about half-way between these points. The town is still encircled by the fortifications which the Venetians constructed in the sixteenth century, shortly before the invasion and conquest of the island by the Turks.¹ These fortifications, built of earth faced with stone, consist of eleven bastions, connected by curtain walls. The Venetians constructed three gateways in these walls, facing north, south-east, and south-west respectively, but since the occupation of Cyprus by the British the south-west gate has been closed and replaced by a wide opening cut through the wall alongside of it, and two other openings have been made on the south side of the town, where a sort of suburb is growing up. At the present day, Nicosia is one of the most picturesque towns in the Levant. There are not many views more pleasing than that of Nicosia from the plateau of Hagia Paraskevi, to the south. In front of the town are extensive plantations of pine and eucalyptus. White-walled and red-roofed houses stand amidst pleasant gardens. The town, within its grey circle of bastions, is a *mêlée* of white walls, red and brown roofs, minarets, and bell-towers, diversified with the foliage of palms and orange-trees. Almost in the centre is the greyish-brown bulk of the mediæval cathedral, now a

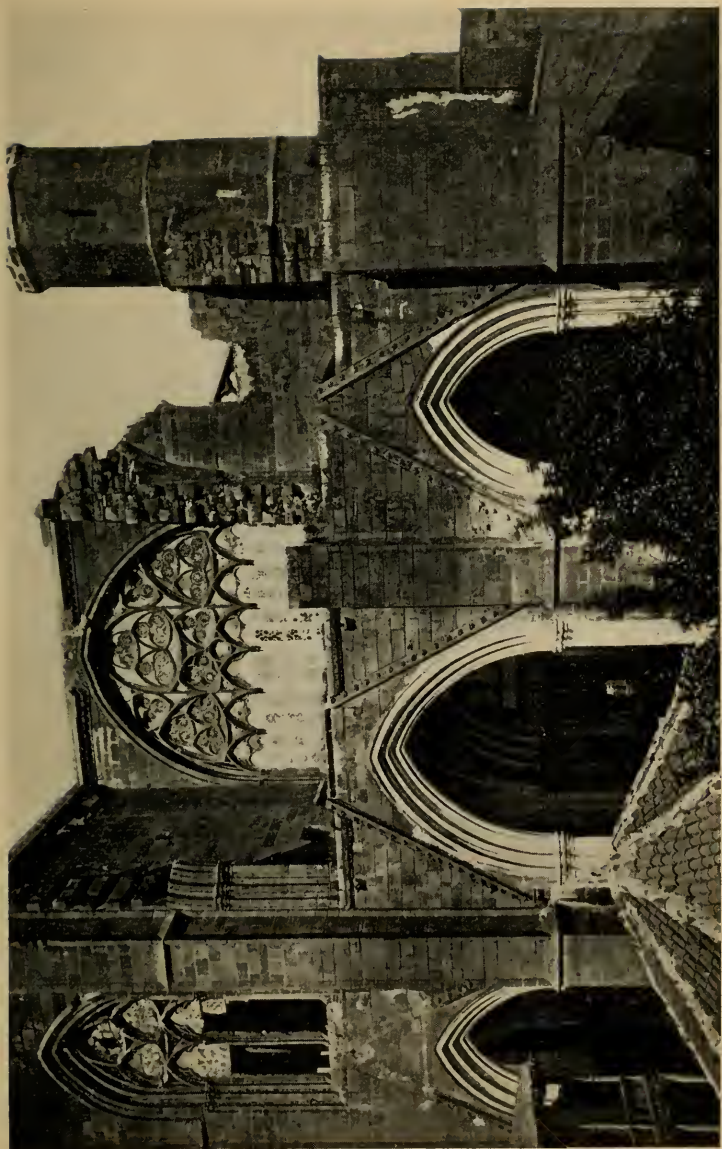
¹ Sakellarios, "Cypriaca," I., p. 542.

mosque, with twin minarets, tall, slender, and graceful, rising from its western front.

The cathedral-mosque, originally dedicated to the Divine Wisdom, and known, like the more famous mosque in Constantinople, as Sta. Sofia, occupies the site, and has inherited the title, of a Greek church which was in existence at the time when the Lusignan dynasty was established in Cyprus.¹ This Greek church, however, was demolished, in order to make room for a structure more in accordance with Western ideas and practices. The foundations of the existing fabric were laid in 1209, and it was consecrated, though not completed, in 1228. It measures about 230 feet in extreme length, and 70 feet in height. The east end is apsidal, with an ambulatory. Two chapels open into the south aisle. From the travel-book of the Dominican Felix Faber, who visited Cyprus in the latter part of the fifteenth century, we learn that one of these chapels was dedicated to St. Thomas Aquinas, and adorned with frescoes, etc. representing scenes from the life of the great theologian. These frescoes and all others that adorned Sta. Sofia in the days of its glory, disappeared long ago under a thick layer of whitewash. Possibly this chapel of St. Thomas Aquinas is the one which now contains the Mihrab—a sort of reredos, with a niche in the middle, marking the direction of Mecca, towards which the faithful turn their faces in prayer.² Since its conversion into a mosque,

¹See P. Georgiou's "Church of Cyprus," p. 57.

²See Hackett, pp. 490-2.



STA. SOFIA, NICOSIA.—WEST FRONT.

the glory of Sta. Sofia has departed. Stripped of all adornment in the way of frescoes, mosaics, or stained windows, it is as it were but the shadow of its former self. It requires an effort to realize the fact that there, for nearly three centuries, the Kings and Queens of Cyprus were crowned, that the eastern apse, now bare, dirty, ill-kept, was once a magnificent sanctuary, and that beneath the pavement, hidden by flea-infested straw mats, princes and nobles of the kingdom were laid in their last resting-place. It must be borne in mind, however, that it is not only the Moslem who has defaced this holy house with sacrilegious hands. In 1373, the Genoese, having possessed themselves of Famagusta, marched up to Nicosia and plundered the city. The churches were pillaged, all alike, Catholic, Orthodox, or heretic, Roman, Greek, Maronite, Armenian, suffering the same indignities. From Sta. Sofia the plunderers carried off reliquaries, jewels, and chalices, and the sacred pavement was stained with the blood of priests, cut down and slain by men professing and calling themselves Christians. Still, the damage done by the Genoese could be restored in some measure. The injuries inflicted by the Turks have yet to be repaired.

To the north of Sta. Sofia lay the archiepiscopal palace, occupied by the Latin Metropolitans of the island under the Lusignan Kings and Venetian Governors, from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. Very little remains of the building nowadays—hardly more than a bit of wall with a doorway, surmounted by two heraldic shields carved in the stone.

Mediæval Nicosia covered a much greater extent of ground than the present city. The Venetian fortifications measure about three miles in circumference, but those which they replaced are said to have measured nine miles. Before they constructed the bastions and walls which are still standing, the Venetians demolished the old walls and towers, and a great part of the city enclosed within them. Their object was to reduce the extent of the works which would have to be defended against a besieging army. But the fact that they could pack, as they must have packed, the population previously spread over an area of about seven square miles into one of seven-tenths of a square mile suggests that Nicosia was, at the time, thinly populated for its size.

According to a native historian, who was himself a scion of the royal family of Cyprus, the Venetians pulled down eighty churches when they refortified the city.¹ One of these was the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul, which belonged to the convent of the Dominicans. This convent stood close by the royal palace, and both were enclosed within the walls of the citadel built by Pierre II. in 1380. The Mamelukes of Egypt, who invaded Cyprus in 1426 and took King Janus prisoner in a great battle at a place called Choirokitia, overran the midland plain, captured Nicosia, and stormed the citadel. The royal palace was set on fire and burnt to the ground, but the Dominicans, by dint of great exertions, managed to save their convent. The traditional site of the citadel and convent is

¹Steffano Lusignano, quoted by Hackett, p. 500.

that of a small village, the name of which in English is "The Holy Confessors," which lies about a mile and a half to the south of Nicosia. Hardly any traces of the buildings, with the exception of the débris of tombs are to be seen now, for the Venetians not only levelled everything with the ground, but carried off the stones and timber to provide materials for the new fortifications. This convent was the St. Denis and Campo Santo of Cyprus. Besides the tombs of the D'Ibelin family, by whom it was founded, it contained those of most of the Lusignan sovereigns. Hugues II., Hugo III., Pierre I., Pierre II., Jacques I., Jacques II., Jean II., were all laid to rest there, also Louis, son of St. Louis, King of France, who died in Cyprus during his father's first crusade. There also were to be seen the tombs and monuments of seneschals, constables, admirals and chamberlains of the kingdoms of Jerusalem and Cyprus—princes, counts and seigneurs of Galilee, Antioch, Sidon, Cæsarea, Beyrout, Jaffa, Tripoli, sixteen Latin Patriarchs of Jerusalem, and a number of archbishops and bishops.¹

Famagusta (Ammochostos), on the east coast, succeeded in the seventh century to the honours of the more famous Salamis, which was destroyed by the Saracens. Salamis, the city that claimed Teucer as its founder, the city where St. Barnabas and St. Paul preached the Gospel, the metropolis of Cyprus in the centuries that followed, lay about four miles to the north of

¹ Hackett, p. 592 f. For the disaster at Choïrokitia, see Hackett, p. 149, Sakellarios' "Cypriaca," pp. 512-15.

Famagusta. Its site is now marked only by broken columns and other *débris*. After the seventh century, Famagusta was the residence of the Archbishops of the native Greek Orthodox Church of Cyprus, and continued so to be till the native episcopate was placed in subjection to the Latin prelates established in the island after the foundation of the feudal kingdom. During the age of the Crusades, Famagusta was a prosperous and important maritime city, one of the great centres of trade between Europe and Asia. After the fall of St. Jean d'Acre in 1291 it was refortified by Henri II., who hoped to make it supply the place of the lost stronghold. In the fourteenth century the cathedral of St. Nicholas, which is still standing, was built. St. Nicholas, like Sta. Sofia in the capital, is now a mosque. According to mediæval travellers' tales there was a church in Famagusta for every day in the year, but it is much to be doubted whether the vestiges of as many as twenty could be discovered amid the remains of the ancient city. The See of Famagusta was last in order of precedence of the four which were established in Cyprus in accordance with the rescript of Pope Celestine III., delivered in 1196, although the city was the successor and representative of Salamis.¹

In 1372 Famagusta was seized most iniquitously by the Genoese. Two years of warfare followed, in which the kingdom suffered severely. Nicosia was sacked by a Genoese army, and Genoese fleets

¹ Hackett, pp. 469-70, 521-2 ; Sakellarios, p. 395.



ST. NICHOLAS, FAMAGUSTA.—WEST FRONT.
(Fourteenth Century).

raided the coasts. On the other hand, the Genoese suffered severe losses in the siege of Kyrenia in 1374, and were forced to retire baffled from before its walls. In May, 1374, a treaty of peace was concluded, which left the Genoese in possession of Famagusta, and bound the King of Cyprus to pay a heavy war indemnity to the Genoese Republic. Famagusta remained in possession of Genoa for ninety years. Its recovery was effected by Jacques II., one of the ablest, and perhaps the most unscrupulous, of his lineage. The Genoese occupation of Famagusta was very destructive to the well-being of the kingdom. The greater part of the foreign trade of Cyprus passed in and out through Famagusta, which had the best harbour in the island, and its occupation by another power diverted a considerable stream of revenue from the treasury.¹

In the fifteenth century Famagusta appears to have been almost a Venetian city, before the island was annexed by the Republic. It was at Famagusta that the annexation was proclaimed on March 14th, 1489, and signalized by the hoisting of the banner of St. Mark in the open place in front of St. Nicholas' Cathedral.²

When Guy de Lusignan took possession, there were fourteen bishoprics in Cyprus, including the archiepiscopal see. This number of fourteen had been maintained for several centuries. Guy himself had no time left him to deal with the ecclesiastical

¹ Sakellarios, p. 484.f.

² Id., pp. 535-7.

problem involved in the Latin occupation, and left it to his brother Amaury.

The problem was—what *modus vivendi* ought to be established between the Latin rulers and their Greek subjects? The solution propounded by the Roman ecclesiastics was—complete subordination of the Greek Orthodox bishops, clergy, and people to the Latin Metropolitan and his suffragans. Amaury thought at first of providing for the maintenance of the Latin bishops and clergy in Cyprus by the payment of stipends. But Celestine III., to whom he applied for permission to establish a proper ecclesiastical organization in the island, would not agree to this, and insisted upon permanent endowments being made. Such endowments could only be made at the expense of the native Greek episcopate and clergy—as they actually were made. The Greeks disputed the claims, and resisted the aggressive proceedings, of the Latin churchmen as long as they could. Their view was that they were being unjustly despoiled, and that the Pope's action in ordaining and appointing bishops for Cyprus, where a duly ordained episcopate already existed, was utterly uncanonical. Another grievance, over which they raised loud complaints, was the demand, urged by the Latin Metropolitan and diocesans, that the Greek bishops should be reduced in number from fourteen to four, and do homage to them as their feudal superiors.¹

A final settlement, in every way unfavourable to

¹ Hackett, pp. 74-6, 81-5, 478 f.





ST. NICHOLAS, FAMAGUSTA.—EAST END.

the Greeks, was made by Pope Alexander IV., and formulated in a rescript known as the "Constitutio Cypria," delivered in June, 1260. The result arrived at was that the native Orthodox Church of Cyprus, the Church founded by St. Barnabas, and adorned by the fame of Spyridon and Epiphanius, the Church recognised as independent and autonomous by the Council of Ephesus in the fifth century, was completely disestablished and disendowed in favour of the Latin ecclesiastical corporations; and the Greek prelates, compelled to reside in out-of-the-way villages, became the suffragans and delegates of the Latin prelates, their feudal superiors, to whom they did homage, for ministering to the native population.¹ There were indeed, in practice, some mitigations of this very unequal *modus vivendi*. More than once the propagandist zeal of the ecclesiastics was restrained and held in check by the temporal power.² In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the stricter adherents of the Papacy—such, for instance, as the Dominican Felix Faber—were scandalized to find, in the country districts if not in the towns, members of the ruling classes, presumably children of the Apostolic See, attending the public services of the Greek Orthodox, and using the ministrations of Greek priests. Felix Faber asserts that in one village he found a priest who served two churches—saying Mass in one according to the Latin rite, and in the other according to the Greek rite.

¹ Hackett, p. 114*f*.

² *Id.*, pp. 85, 132-3.

This meant that in the one liturgy he used unleavened bread, and in the other ordinary bread. The priest had thus compromised upon one of the burning questions at issue between Rome and the East, viz., whether leavened or unleavened bread ought to be employed in the Eucharist. He had no idea that he was doing anything wrong, but Felix Faber had a very distinct opinion that such a man was worse than the most hardened and defiant of heretics.¹

Religious dissension was a great source of evil in the kingdom of Cyprus, as indeed it was in all the Latin principalities in the East. It made the subject peasant population disloyal, and thus undermined the strength of the state. In comparison with the aggressive and intolerant action of the Roman ecclesiastics, the other grievances of the Cypriotes—and there were not a few of them—were not held of much account. They had been overtaxed by Byzantine governors, and the continuance of their burdens under the new *régime* would have passed without much notice. But that pressure and force should be put upon them to change the religious customs and beliefs which they had inherited from their fathers was an abuse to which they neither could nor would be reconciled.

The kingdom of Cyprus survived the age of the Crusades longer than any other kingdom or principality founded during that epoch. Its continued existence was an offence to the neighbouring

¹ Hackett, pp. 152-3.

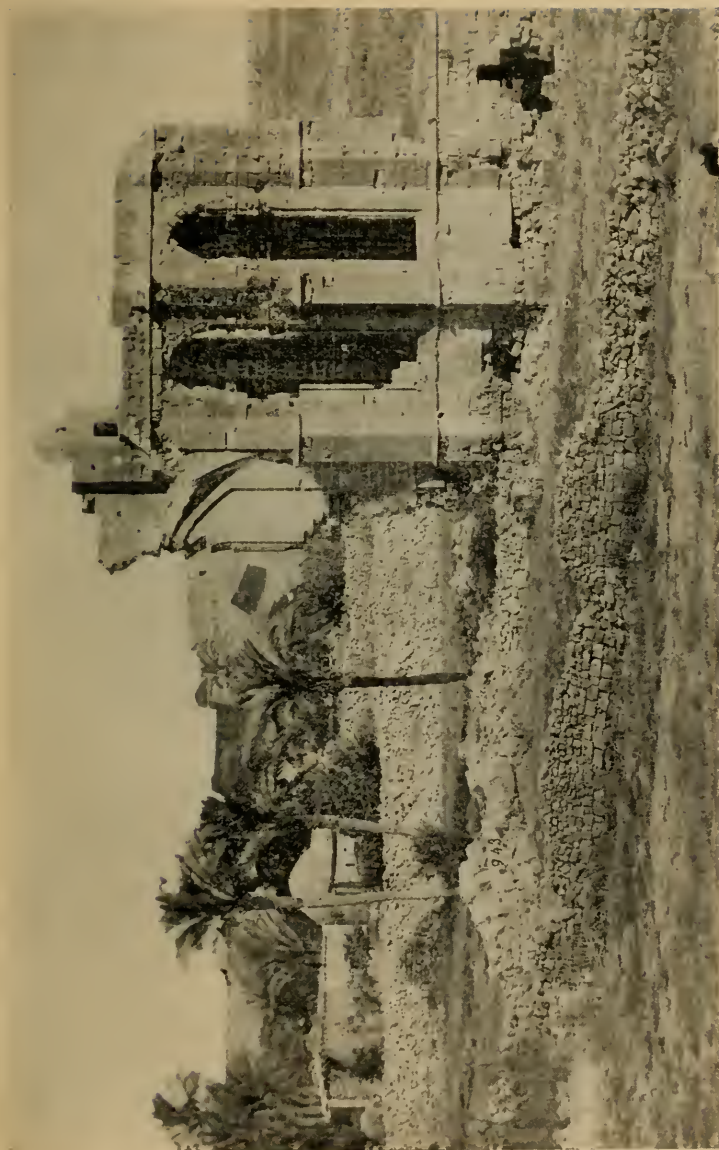
Mahometan powers, principally because its coasts harboured pirates who harried Mahometan shipping. The government made its profit out of these pirates, and took no steps, though earnestly requested and warned to do so, in order to force them to seek refuges elsewhere. It was the depredations of these sea-robbers that brought down upon the island the fearful chastisement of the Mameluke invasion in 1426, when the king, taken prisoner in battle, was carried off to Cairo, and only liberated on condition that his realm should be for ever tributary to the Sultan of Egypt.¹ In 1517 the Turks conquered Egypt, and succeeded to the Mamelukes' rights over Cyprus. The Venetians paid the tribute, but they also encouraged piracy. But the Turks in those days hardly needed even so colourable a pretext as this, and the considerations which appear to have really moved Sultan Selim to invade Cyprus were, that he wished to build a mosque at Adrianople, and needed to add a province to the empire, in order to endow the mosque with the spoils of conquest, a condition from which the Rabbis of his religion would grant no dispensation; and secondly, that Venice was not in a favourable position to defend her transmarine possessions, by reason of the losses sustained through the burning of the Arsenal in 1569.

A great expedition was despatched from Constantinople to Cyprus in 1570. The Venetian Republic made very inadequate efforts to save the

¹Sakellarios, "Cyprica," I., pp. 510-17; Hackett, pp. 149-51.

island, the garrison of which was left almost entirely to make the best shift it could on its own resources. Nicosia held out for about seven weeks, and was then taken by storm, with all the hideous accompaniments of such a fatality. Famagusta sustained a siege and blockade which lasted nearly a year, being finally starved into submission in August, 1571. The other fortresses offered no resistance at all. But though the Turks had only to force two strongholds in order to complete the conquest of the island, that conquest is said to have cost them the lives of fifty thousand men.¹

¹ For the Turkish conquest of Cyprus, see Hackett "Church of Cyprus," pp. 176-89; Sakellarios "Cyprica," pp. 540-57; Satha "Greece under the Turks," pp. 131-63 (a long excerpt from the history of Cyprus by the Archimandrite Kyprianos, who in his turn drew upon Steffano Lusignano's "Chorografia").



RUINED CHURCH, FAMIAGUSTA.

ATHENS IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

I.

ALL educated people know something about *ancient* Athens, "the eye of Greece, mother of arts and eloquence," though for a great many the story of ancient Athens comes to an end long before its proper conclusion. With the rise of the Macedonian Empire, the existence of ancient Athens fades into obscurity, and few, perhaps, even among students of history, could at a moment's notice recall to mind very much more than the siege and sack of the city by Sulla's army, in B.C. 86, the visit of St. Paul, the Gothic raid in the troublous days of Valerian and Gallienus, and the closing of the schools of philosophy by Justinian. Over and above these salient events, one would also remember that Athens became a sort of university city, and that her university life was still vigorous in the fourth century of the Christian era, when St. Basil and the Emperor Julian were to be seen in her "studious walks and shades." The twilight of Athens becomes darkness when the voice of philosophy is silenced by the stern decree of the Cæsar-Pope Justinian. Here and there, however, fragmentary records throw some rays of light across the gloom. We can see that Athens still continued to exist as

a city, and was always to be reckoned among the chief centres of population in Greece.

As a matter of political geography, Athens was included in the "theme" or province of Hellas, which extended from the Gulf of Corinth to the Vale of Tempe in Thessaly. The city and the surrounding territory claimed certain privileges in regard to taxation, and unusual powers of local autonomy—privileges and powers which were not always respected by the fiscal agents of the Byzantine Government.

We are accustomed to think of the Parthenon as a heathen sanctuary, and only in that character. It was a heathen temple for about 880 years, but it was a Christian church for 1,000—and after ten centuries of consecration to Christian worship, it became a Mohammedan mosque. It appears to have served as a mosque right down to the time when Morosini and Koenigsmarck landed at the Piræus and bombarded the Acropolis—a period of 231 years (A.D. 1456-1687). In the course of the bombardment a shell pierced the roof of the Parthenon, and exploded inside the building, where the Turks—with recklessness even for them quite extraordinary—had placed their powder magazine. The magazine blew up, and ever since that day the Parthenon has been a ruin.

Among the glories of pagan Athens, one of the chief was the famous ivory and gold statue of Athena. This was still in existence when the Emperor Theodosius II. came to the throne (A.D. 408). It was removed, twenty-one years later, to Constantinople, and appears to have been set up



ATHENS.—THE ACROPOLIS.
(Mount Lycabettus in the background).

(under some sort of cover, let us hope) in the Forum of Constantine. What became of it ultimately, no one can tell. Probably it perished in the terrible Nika riots (A.D. 532).

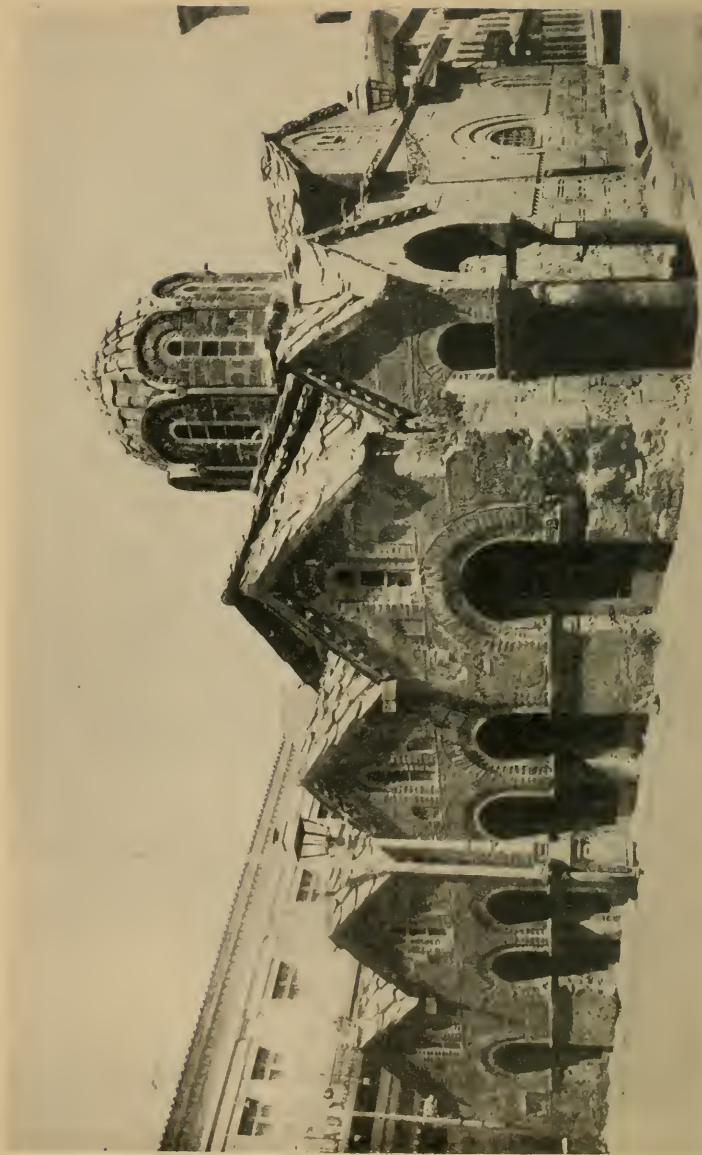
The consecration of the Parthenon as a Christian church can hardly have been long delayed after the removal of Phidias' masterpiece. We may assume that by the end of Theodosius II.'s reign (A.D. 450) the house of Athena the Virgin had become the church of the Virgin Mary. Certain structural alterations had to be made. The main entrance of the temple had been from the eastern end. To suit the arrangements of Christian worship, the great eastern doorway was blocked up, or masked by an apse, while a doorway was opened in the western wall. When Spon and Wheeler visited Athens in the latter part of the seventeenth century, the Parthenon had an inner roof or ceiling composed of a series of shallow domes or cupolas, but whether this ceiling was inserted into the fabric in the fifth century, or later on, there is no evidence to show.

Several writers of repute—*e.g.*, the Count Laborde—have lent their support to the notion that the Parthenon, when it became a Christian church, was dedicated to the Divine Wisdom (Hagia Sophia), but there is absolutely nothing, either in literature or inscriptions, to prove this. All the evidence tends to show that the dedication, from the first, was to St. Mary the Virgin-Mother—and this would certainly be the most natural dedication. In cases where a pagan temple was turned into a church there was a tendency, almost

invariable, to select as the patron-saint of the church some Christian personage who resembled, more or less, the heathen god whose cultus had been abolished. Thus the Theseum became a church of St. George. The cave of Dictynna (Artemis), in the Acropolis-rock, above the theatre of Dionysus, became a shrine of the Virgin (Panagia Spiliotissa—Our Lady of the Cave). The temple of Athena in Syracuse is now a church of the Virgin, and the Festival of All Saints was instituted by Boniface IV. in A.D. 608 to commemorate the consecration of the Pantheon to the worship of God, who is glorified in "the multitude of His holy ones." There is no reason to suppose that the dedication of the Parthenon as a Christian church was ever changed in the whole course of the ten centuries which separate the pagan and Mohammedan periods of its history. From first to last, whether the worship held within was according to the Greek or the Latin rite, it was a Church of the Mother of Christ—while both as a temple and as a church it has been a "Parthenon."

The "Geographica" of Guido (compiled in the twelfth century), and the "Relatio" of the pilgrim Saewulf, who visited Palestine in A.D. 1102-3, both make mention of the ever-burning lamp in the Church of the *Virgin Mary*.¹ This was the sanctuary lamp which is a familiar sight in Greek churches—and, as it would seem, was once a familiar sight in Greek temples. In the case of this "lychnos

¹ "Guidonis Geographica," cap. 110 (Pinder and Parthey). Saewulf, "Relatio Peregrinationis" in the "Palestine Pilgrim Texts," Vol. IV.



ATHENS.—THE CAPNICAREA CHURCH.

aenaos" in the Parthenon, we certainly have an instance of the "continuity of history," for the heathen forefathers of the Athenians whom Saewulf saw kept a golden lamp or candelabrum burning continuously in the holy house of their Virgin-goddess. In the year 1019 came the Emperor Basil, "the Slayer of Bulgarians," to offer thanks and praise and rich gifts to the *Virgin-Mother*, in recognition of the aid which, as he believed, had been vouchsafed by her to his armies in the course of twenty years' warfare with an enemy who had torn from the East-Roman Empire the greater part of its European provinces. "Having dedicated many rich gifts to the service of the sanctuary, he returned to Constantinople, and celebrated a triumph." So we learn from Zonaras, whose evidence is confirmed by that of George Cedrenus. Both of these authorities speak of Basil as presenting his offerings "to the *Theotokos*" (Mother of God). On the approach of Boniface de Montferrat, in 1204, Michael Akominatos, the Archbishop of Athens, fearing the fanatical violence of the "Crusaders," fled to Eubœa, and thence to Ceos, one of the islands of the Archipelago. It was in Ceos that, ten years later, he received the news of the death of his brother Nicetas, the historian, and composed in honour of the departed a "monodia," in which he bewails the fate of the "famous and opulent shrine, dedicated to the honour of *Christ's Mother* by our predecessors," but then dishonoured and pillaged by heretic hands.

The evidence of book-writers is ratified and illustrated by that of inscriptions. In the flutings

of the great columns more than eighty inscriptions were discovered by M. Pittakis and the Archimandrite Antonius, and in a great many of these the Virgin Mary is the object of praise or invocation.¹ The most usual form of invocation is "Theodoche Despoina" (Theodoche *perhaps* by mistake for Theotoke—"Mother of God, our Lady"), sometimes "Theotoke," more rarely "Panagia." In one case the invocation was as follows: "Hail, thou that art highly favoured, the living sanctuary of God!" All these inscriptions appear to belong to the "Byzantine" epoch—*i.e.*, they are earlier than the thirteenth century. One class of these column-inscriptions is of especial interest for ecclesiastical annalists. This class supplies the names of the bishops (later on, archbishops and metropolitans) from the sixth to the end of the twelfth century. In A.D. 733 Leo the Iconoclast transferred Macedonia, Epirus, Greece, and Crete from the jurisdiction of Rome to that of Constantinople, leaving the Pope no ecclesiastical province in the Eastern Empire. The bishopric of Athens was then made "independent" of all superior ecclesiastical authority save that of the Patriarch of Constantinople. By the time of Photius' patriarchate (A.D. 857-67) the bishop has become an "archbishop," and in 869 the chief pastor of the faithful in Athens is found with the title of "metropolitan."² The ecclesiastical

¹ Mommsen, "Athenæ Christianæ," cap. vi.

² It is not very easy to see what distinction the Greeks draw between a metropolitan and an archbishop. The chief prelate in Cyprus is an archbishop, the other three bishops of the island being metropolitans. The Archbishop of Smyrna is the equal in rank of the Metropolitan of Ephesus.



ATHENS.—THE OLD METROPOLITAN CHURCH.



province, of which Athens was the metropolis, included the following dioceses: Euripos, Oreos, Karystos, Porthmos, and Aulon (all these in Eubœa), Daulis or Daulia in Phocis, Coronea in Bœotia, and the islands of Andros, Scyros, Syros, and Seriphos. Of all the occupants of the metropolitan throne of Athens the most famous and notable was the last—Michael Akominatos of Chonæ in Phrygia, who entered on his episcopate in the year 1180.

II.

MENTION has already been made of the bombardment of the Acropolis by the Venetians in 1687. The Venetians succeeded on that occasion in capturing Athens and its citadel, but found themselves unable to retain their conquest. In March, 1688, therefore, they evacuated Athens and the Piræus and returned home. Morosini would gladly have carried off some of the Parthenon sculptures as the spoils of his transient victory, but the group selected for removal was destroyed by the clumsiness of the workmen appointed to take it down, and the admiral had to content himself with four stone lions, one of which had stood for ages at the entrance to the Piræus harbour, and had given that resort of shipping its mediæval name of Porto Leone. This lion, which is of colossal proportions—its height, in a sitting posture, being

some ten feet—is recognised as the work of a sculptor of the fifth century B.C. On its shoulders are inscriptions which for a long time baffled the attempts made by antiquarians to decipher them. A little over fifty years ago, however, the Danish scholar Rafn examined them, and found that they were written in Runic character. The letters are considerably blurred and worn, so that Rafn's interpretation must be regarded as resting to some extent upon conjecture. That they are Runic characters is not to be doubted, but those who are qualified to speak with authority on the subject of Runic inscriptions are not in entire agreement with Rafn as to their exact meaning.

According to Rafn the inscription on the lion's left shoulder states that "Hakon, with Ulf, Asmund, and Orm, took this haven. They, and Harold the Tall, wrung heavy scot from the Greeks who had forsaken their king. [. . .] was held in bondage in a far land, but Egil and Ragnar bare shield and sword in Romania and Armenia." That on the right shoulder records how "Asmund and Asgir, Thorleif, Thord and Ivar carved these Runes, for so did Harold the Tall give the word, albeit the Greeks in high wrath forbade them."

This "Harold the Tall" is identified by Rafn and those who follow him with Harold Hardrada, the half-brother of St. Olaf, King of Norway. Harold, though only fifteen years of age at the time, fought in the battle of Stiklestad, in which St. Olaf fell (A.D. 1030), and having escaped the sword of his enemies, made his way to the court of St. Olaf's

brother-in-law, Yaroslav, Grand Prince of Kiev, in Russia. Yaroslav was a descendant of the Swede Rurik, who had become Grand Prince of Russia in the ninth century. Since the days of Rurik, Scandinavian adventurers had constantly resorted to Russia, and it was due to their active spirit of enterprise that the Russians were brought into those relations with the East-Roman Empire which have exercised so important and decisive an influence upon the history of the nation.

Led by the Scandinavian captains the Russians alternately traded and fought with the Byzantines, whose rulers with reason conceived a high opinion of the warlike prowess of these Hyperboreans. Early in the tenth century, the emperors of the East, finding that there was a possibility of securing the assistance of these redoubtable warriors, invited some of them to Constantinople, and formed them into a bodyguard under the name of "Varangians" or "Variagians," a name which appears to have reference to the oath by which they bound themselves to faithful service. These Varangians were the best-disciplined and most reliable corps in the whole of the Byzantine Cæsar's armies.

"To Constantinople" then (A.D. 1032 or 1033) "Harold came, and in the service of the Emperor led the Varangian Guard against the Saracens in Egypt and Syria, thus anticipating the future deeds of the Normans in the Crusades, and saw Greece and Italy, where he fought with his distant kinsmen the Normans, who were already settled in Italy. In this service he gained a wide-spread

fame, and amassed an enormous treasure. Then, quarrelling with his master the Emperor, he went back to Russia to marry Elizabeth, the daughter of Yaroslav. Thence he returned to Norway, to share that kingdom with Magnus the Good, his nephew, till the death of his rival left him in sole possession of the Norwegian throne (A.D. 1047). Nineteen years afterwards he crossed to England to claim that kingdom from Harold the son of Godwine, and to end his strange life at the battle of Stamford Bridge (A.D. 1066.)”¹

The mere outline of Harold Hardrada’s experiences in the service of Romanus II., Michael the Paphlagonian, and Constantine Monomachus, is enough to show that the swords of the Eastern Emperor’s mercenaries were in little danger of rusting through disuse. Mohammedan Emirs in Syria and on the Armenian frontier, wild Patzinaks from the Ukraine, Normans in Southern Italy, Mohammedans again in Sicily, were ever ready to trouble the peace of the Empire by land or sea. But, as though the difficulties of beating back foreign foes were not enough to contend with, the Eastern emperors frequently stirred up wars within their own dominions by the tyrannous character of their fiscal policy. Thus it was that in 1040 the Servians rose in arms and severed themselves and their country from the Empire,

¹ A. H. Johnson, “The Normans in Europe,” pp. 29, 30. The account given above of the inscriptions on the Piræic lion is drawn from Finlay, “History of Greece,” ii., p. 418, v., p. 188, and Constantinidi, “Ἱστορία τῶν Ἀθηνῶν,” p. 240.

and in the same year rebellion broke out in Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaly, and Greece. In this widespread insurrection the people of Athens took part. This was not indeed the first time that they had manifested their resentment against maladministration and abuse of power. In the year 915 they had stoned to death the Protospatharios Chares within the very sanctuary of the Panaghia on the Acropolis, where he had sought refuge from their fury. M. Constantinidi ("History of Athens," pp. 191, 192) asserts that no punishment was inflicted upon the community for this extreme act of violence, which is hard to believe, save on the supposition that the murdered man had no friends at court.

The person chiefly to be blamed for the troubles of 1040—1041 was a high official known as John the Orphanotrophos. This man, who was the brother of the Emperor Michael, is said to have begun life as a physician. For some reason or other—perhaps because he found the profession unprofitable—he entered the monastic order. It is also recorded of him that he entered the order of those who had suffered, some of their own accord, some perforce, that terrible mutilation which was supposed to render a man untempted and untemptable of evil. Under the Emperor Romanus III. he was appointed to the office and dignity of Orphanotrophos, *i.e.*, Minister of Charitable Foundations. His brother's accession to the imperial throne in 1034 brought him further promotion, inasmuch as he then became president of the Imperial Council of State, and

was entrusted (very unwisely on the Emperor's part) with the direction and control of the financial administration of the Empire. The rapacity and lucre-madness of his agents must have caused the name Orphanotrophos—"Orphanage-nurse"—to ring very ironically in the ears of the Emperor's tax-paying subjects. There is, however, at least an appearance of consistency in his career, which he began, continued, and ended as a leech!

Greece then, as well as the provinces distinguishable by the origin of their population as Slavo-Bulgarian, had felt the scorpions of the "Orphanage-nurse's" finance, and so strong was the general feeling of dissatisfaction, discontent, and disaffection, that all Hellas, both north and south of the Corinthian Gulf, fell in with the Slavo-Bulgarian insurrection of 1040, with the exception of the town of Naupactus. To pacify the disturbances in Greece Harold the Tall was sent, having at his back "Hakon, Orm, Thorleif," and the rest of his fellow-countrymen of the Imperial Guard. By the mere terror of their presence, they seem to have straightway brought back Athens to her allegiance, levying a notable fine or amercement from the population, but shedding no blood, and destroying no dwellings of men. Thus was the Emperor's authority restored in Athens, and the event was recorded in rude scratches upon a masterpiece of the stone-carver's art which had survived from the glorious age of Phidias and Ictinus. The Athenians, so it is said, were highly displeased at this. Was it because they resented the defacing of a venerable monument of antiquity?

Very few probably of that generation of Athenians knew anything of Themistocles or Cimon, Pericles or Nicias, or any of those who in the fifth century before Christ had made Athens for ever glorious. Very few would be capable of appreciating the beauties of ancient Greek sculpture and architecture. Ancient Athens was given over to idols; mediæval Athens was given over to icons, but icons, however sacred they may be reputed, are bad instruments for the formation and development of artistic taste. It is quite possible, and indeed likely enough, that the Athenians of the eleventh century and of the Middle Ages generally, regarded the great stone lion at the entrance of the Piræus-haven with superstitious reverence as connected in some mysterious but very real and intimate way with the fortune of the city—a sacred object, to be touched, if touched at all, only by the pious and devout hands of persons to whom Attica was home and fatherland, and not to be profaned by rude and uncouth strangers, between whom and the Greeks there could be nothing in common. We may suppose, then, the Athenians were agitated by the sight of “Asmund with Asgir, Thorleif, Thord and Ivar” scratching their Runes upon the lion of the Piræus, because they feared either that the profanation would bring upon them the wrathful chastisement of ghostly powers, or that it was the sign that wrath was already kindled against them, and that therefore mischief must soon befall. Such fears, however, if they were entertained for the time being, were destined to be falsified by events. A long time

passed away before any great calamity befell Athens, and, so far as the immediate present was concerned, it was evident soon enough that timely submission had averted much evil. The Thebans took the field in the name of Greek liberties, but were defeated with great slaughter, and it is to the last degree unlikely that their losses were losses of friends and kinsmen only, and not of property as well, for Thebes in those days was wealthy and prosperous, a city of scholars and students as well as of merchants and manufacturers, a city where the Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela found (A.D. 1163), two thousand of his people engaged in the production of silk and purple cloth.¹ If Athens, in those days poor in comparison with Thebes, had to pay up heavily for rebellion, much more would Thebes have to pay in gold, as well as in blood shed on the field of battle.

Fortunately for the Empire and the Imperial Government, the Slavo-Bulgarians, with whom the rebellion had originated, had no leaders of any ability, or indeed of any moral worth. In the summer of 1041, Michael the Paphlagonian led out an expedition from Thessalonica, and before the winter season came on, had made an end of the insurgents. Macedonia, Epirus, and Greece were recovered, but Servia was lost—so much at least had the rapacious fiscal policy of the Orphanotrophos cost the state. Byzantine statesmen may

¹ Finlay, "History of Greece," ii., p. 417; Wright, "Early Travels in Palestine." Tudela is a town in Navarre. There is a short account of Benjamin of Tudela in Grätz, "History of the Jews," iii., p. 400 (Miss Löwy's translation).

have forgotten nothing, but at the same time they never learned anything. They may be said never to have forgotten any of the numerous ways in which it had been at any time pointed out that taxation might be imposed, and the provinces drained for the sustenance, or rather the pampering of the capital—and indeed not of the capital so much as of the court. But they do not appear to have learned that exhaustion of the provinces would involve the ultimate exhaustion of Constantinople as well, and the collapse of the whole imperial system. Against such fiscal tyranny as that of John the Orphanotrophos the provincials protested and rebelled frequently enough, only to find that there was no hope of deliverance save in separation from the Empire. Between the Government and the governed, in the Byzantine Empire, there was little love lost—there never was much, if any, to lose, for the East-Roman Empire was a Government unsupported by anything like what we understand by national feeling or consciousness. All the more necessary, then, was it to attach the provinces to the capital and the court by the feeling of common interest, to make the relation of governors and governed, capital and provinces, one in the maintenance of which the provincial populations should perceive and know that their welfare was involved, while the dissolution of it with equal clearness meant for them loss and disaster. But this requirement was hardly met by increasing the burdens of taxation, either by adding to their amount, or by changes in the manner in which the taxes were raised—changes which brought the

tillers of the soil into economical difficulties and dangers.¹

The Eastern Emperors and their ministers discerned, clearly enough, that multifarious and burdensome imposts tended to alienate the minds of the tax-payers, and were a perpetual incentive to rebellion and secession. This difficulty, however, they tried to meet by disarming the provincials as far as possible, and maintaining large bodies of foreign mercenary troops, which could be fully relied on to take drastic proceedings in the suppression of revolts with which they had no sympathy. Thus the position of affairs in the Eastern Empire was not unlike the position of affairs in Egypt under the twenty-sixth dynasty. The Pharaohs of that dynasty (B.C. 660-525) looked for support, not to the natural allegiance of the Egyptians, but rather to the disciplined service of Ionian and Carian mercenaries. History is marked by repetitions and brings its revenges. Greek hirelings kept Egypt in subjection to Psammitichus and his successors. Northmen upheld the authority of the Constantinopolitan Emperors over the very countries from which the Egyptian monarchs of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. had drawn the men whose military prowess was the surest defence and support of their throne. Greek soldiers, returning from an expedition into Nubia, scratched their names on the leg of one of the four colossal statues of Rameses the Great at Abu-Símbel. Scandinavian mercenaries, in the pay of

¹For the insurrections in Servia, Bulgaria, and Greece, see Finlay, "History of Greece," ii., pp. 415-419.

a Roman Emperor who habitually conversed in Greek, scratched their names on the Piræic lion before taking their departure from the city which they had brought back to its allegiance and compelled to make satisfaction for its offence by the payment of a heavy fine. Doubtless the Ionians and Carians in the service of a Necho or a Hophra despised the Egyptians, who indeed were not altogether an unarmed people, but for all that were considered incapable of supplying such a *corps d'élite* as the grandeur of the Pharaoh called for. So likewise—or even more so—must the Varangians have despised the “Romaioi,” as the Greeks of the Middle Ages called themselves,—a multitude purposely made unwarlike by the Byzantine Government, which showed itself a true “tyranny” in distrusting its own proper subjects so far as to make the least possible use of them for the defence of the Empire, lest, being trained to wield weapons of war, they should turn those weapons against their rulers.

It was by this same distrust that the Emperors were impelled to devitalize the city communities in their dominions, to restrict local autonomy, to centralize the administration to a degree which a Greek of the palmy days of Greece would have regarded as monstrous and intolerable. The ancient constitution of the Athenian Commonwealth had been worn to a shadow long before the time of Justinian, though we do hear of “archons” even as late as the year 500.¹ For a detailed

¹Constantinidi, “Ἱστορία τῶν Ἀθηνῶν,” pp. 134, 156.

account of the constitution and government of Athens in the period between Justinian and the Latin Conquest (A.D. 565-1205) there is no adequate material, but the few isolated facts discoverable in the records of that age may serve for the formation of a general idea of the way in which the affairs of the city were managed. The highest local official was the *Dioecetes* (Διοικῆτης) or "Commissioner," also spoken of (by those who affected classical phrases) as the *Archon* or *Athenarch* (Ἀθηναρχος). He received his appointment directly from the Emperor at Constantinople. With him were associated, in the capacity of advisers, the Metropolitan and other prominent citizens. The members of this advisory board were perhaps chosen by the *Dioecetes* himself. Other officials receiving their appointment from Constantinople were the *Protocritor* (Chief Justice), the *Asecretis* (A Secretis, i.e. Secretary), also called *Grammateus*—who probably stood in the same relation to the *Dioecetes* as the Chief Secretary to the High Commissioner in the present Government of Cyprus—and the *Drungarii* (Δρουγγάριοι), who were military officers.

The city of Athens with its "horion" or territory, the limits of which were much the same as those of ancient Attica, was in theory allowed a lighter burden of taxation than the neighbouring territories of Thebes and Chalcis. We say in theory, for in practice the privilege, originally granted, according to Michael Akominatos, by an imperial "Bulla Aurea" or charter, was liable to be disregarded. It was the duty of the Athenians,

as of many other communities in the Empire, to present a crown of gold to the Emperor on his accession to the throne.

Athens and Attica were visited from time to time by the Governor-General (Πραιτωρ) of the "Helladic Theme" (province of Hellas), who seems to have had authority to correct, redress, and reform, when appealed to by the inhabitants. So much we may infer from the oration of Michael Akominatos to the "Prætor of Hellas and Peloponnesus" sent out by Andronicus I. in 1182. He was not authorized, however, to enter Athens at the head of an army.

In the eleventh century the "themata" of Hellas and Peloponnesus were united, but this change made no difference with respect to the privileges conceded by the "Bulla Aurea" cited in the memorial of Michael Akominatos. It is a pity that he does not mention the Emperor who granted this charter, but only speaks of the "worshipful charter" and "ancient custom." A man of his bent of mind, however, would be likely to measure antiquity on a large scale.

From these details we may infer that Athens and Attica were rather in the position of a Crown Colony, whose charter privileges were exposed to be ignored and trampled upon by arbitrary Governors-General. It was certainly not the position of the "nomos" of Attica and Bœotia in the modern kingdom of Greece. But there was no Parliament in the Byzantine Empire, and the quasi-colonial position of Athens and Attica under the Byzantine *régime* becomes all the clearer in the

light of the fact that in Constantinople there resided an official entitled "Defendarius" or "Mysticus," appointed by the Emperor, the business of this official being to submit petitions and memorials from Athens to the sovereign, and generally to act as the Athenian "Agent" or "Resident."¹

III.

THE Bulla Aurea, or imperial charter, granted by Alexius in 1082 as part of the remuneration promised for services rendered by the navy of Venice in the war between the Emperor and Robert Guiscard, the Norman King of Sicily,² put the Venetians in exclusive possession of a complete quarter or section of Constantinople on the Golden

¹ This account of the government of Athens and Attica in the period A.D. 565-1205 is drawn from Constantinidi, *op. cit.* pp. 191-2, 245 *f.*, and Lambros, "*Αἱ Ἀθῆναι περὶ τὰ τέλη τοῦ δωδεκάτου αἰῶνος*," pp. 23-6, 63 *f.* The exact nature and extent of the Prætor's authority and powers with respect to Athens cannot well be ascertained from the documents. In the memorial addressed (A.D. 1199) to Alexius III., Michael asserts that the Prætor has no jurisdiction in the *horion* of Athens. Yet in A.D. 1182 he appealed to the Prætor Nicephorus for reform and redress. It is absurd to suppose that the Prætor was allowed no jurisdiction in Attica, but it is quite possible that a "golden bull" or charter forbade him to bring troops with him into Athens.

² This war broke out in 1081. Robert Guiscard, under colour of restoring the dethroned Michael VII. attacked the Byzantine Empire in the hope of surpassing the exploits of his countryman, William the Conqueror. His forces were, however, unable to gain any decisive success, and the war was terminated by his death in Cephalonia, in 1085.

Horn, near the Bucoleon Palace,¹ with the quays, magazines, workshops, dwelling-houses, and churches comprised within its limits, where they might reside and do business under the jurisdiction of their own magistrates. All goods imported by Venetian traders were to enter free of duty, and the same exemption was granted in relation to exports. No harbour-dues were to be levied on any Venetian ship. These arrangements, moreover, were made to apply not only at Constantinople, but in thirty-one other cities as well, ten of these being situated in Asia, and twenty-one in Europe. Among these "open doors" were Thebes, Corinth, and Athens.² From this time forward, Timon of Athens might promise himself frequent opportunities of meeting the Merchant of Venice.

Thus did Alexius stand forth as an advocate both of free imports and a preferential tariff. The difficulty of reconciling these two apparent opposites was solved by diverting to foreign concessionaires the profits obtainable from each. Few more destructive blunders were ever committed

¹ This palace, with the adjoining palace of Mangana, occupied the site of the ancient Byzantium, above and behind Seraglio Point. Venetian merchants already had establishments in Constantinople, and a church had been assigned for their use.

² The following is a catalogue of these "treaty ports"—

- (a) in Asia—Latakia, Antioch, Malmistra, Adana, Tarsus, Adalia, Strovilo, Chios, Theologos (Ephesus), Phokia (Phocæa), Abydos.
- (b) in Europe—Durazzo, Corfu, Avlona, Vonitza, Modon, Coroni, Nauplia, Corinth, Thebes, Athens, Egripo (Chalcis), Demetrias (near Volo), Saloniki, Christopoli, Peritheorion, Rhodosto, Adrianople, Apra, Erekli, Silivri. See Paparrhigopoulos, "*Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους*," iv., 433-434.

by even the most reckless and incapable in all the long line of emperors from Constantine to the Angeli. The Venetian trading colonies, headed by the settlement in Constantinople, became a veritable "imperium in imperio," and a thorn in the side, a smoke in the eyes, a stink in the nostrils, of the native rulers. John Comnenus, the son, and Manuel, the grandson, of Alexius, attempted to shake the Venetian Old Man of the Sea off the neck of the Empire, but in vain, and both had to submit to the humiliation of renewing the charter, with all its baneful concessions.

There was one department of trade, however, in dealing with which the emperors acted strictly upon Dido's principle, "*Tros Tyriusve mihi nullo discrimine agetur*," and that was the supply of food. The emperors held the monopoly of wheat and barley, wine and oil, and every sort of food in the whole of their dominions, a source of revenue too copious to be abandoned, even to friends so dear as the Venetians. By this abuse the facilities lavished upon foreign competition were rendered less injurious than they might otherwise have been. Moreover, no foreigners were allowed to trade in Black Sea ports without a special licence from the Emperor. Further, some reduction of the iniquitous gains allowed to the Venetians was effected, without infringing their charter-rights, by the commercial treaties into which Manuel Comnenus entered with the merchants of Genoa and Pisa. A Genoese colony grew up at Galata, on the shore of the Golden Horn, opposite Constantinople, and all Genoese

and Pisans residing at the capital for purposes of trade and commerce, were under obligation to render military aid to the Emperor.¹

Manuel Comnenus was one of the most notable warriors of his day—an Eastern Cœur de Lion. But the glory he gained by his exploits in battle was altogether barren, and his reign was a disastrous epoch in the history of the Empire, which he left much worse off than he found it.²

In the year 1147 he gave Roger II., the Norman King of Sicily and Southern Italy, an opening for picking a quarrel with him. It was an unfortunate moment for joining hostilities with an adversary so powerful and resolute. The German Emperor and the King of France were both at the head of large armies on the march to help the sorely-beset Baldwin, King of Jerusalem. Their route lay through the northern provinces of Manuel's empire, and he had to concentrate his forces to watch the progress of these formidable potentates, and be prepared for the defence of his capital. Such naval forces as he possessed were quite unequal to the task of repelling the Norman invasion without the help of Venice—and Venice took her own time to supply this need.

A numerous fleet, commanded by George the

¹ The treaties with Genoa and Pisa were made in 1155. The facilities and exemptions granted were not so generous as those which had been lavished upon the Venetians, who still held the position of the most favoured nation. But this difference diminished the chances of concerted and co-operating hostilities on the part of the Italians. The rapid numerical increase and the turbulent behaviour of these strangers within the gates—there were 60,000 of them at the close of Manuel's reign in 1180—might well excite the gravest fears of the Byzantine rulers.

² Manuel reigned from 1143 to 1180.

Antiochene, whose surname bespeaks his Oriental nativity, set sail from Brindisi and cast anchor in the harbour of Corfu. The Corfiotes, wearied and disaffected by long years of fiscal tyranny and judicial wickedness, surrendered themselves to the invader, hoping for some measure of relief from a change of rulers. A garrison of 1,000 Normans was left in possession, and the fleet, sailing round the Morea, attacked Monemvasia or Malvasia, on the eastern coast of the peninsula.¹ The Monemvasians, however, defended themselves with courage and vigour, and beat off the Normans, who then retraced their course and devastated the shores of Ætolia and Acarnania. Passing the Straits of Naupactus (Lepanto), they sailed up to the head of the Gulf of Salona. There an army was landed, which marched through Phocis and Bœotia towards Thebes, plundering every town on the route.

The wealthy and populous community of Thebes had lost the spirit which had prompted it to take active part in the insurrection of 1040. For a hundred years the Thebans had dwelt "careless, after the manner of the Zidonians, quiet and secure." They were utterly unprepared to offer any resistance to the Normans, who captured the town without striking a blow, and plundered it at their leisure, as the Vandals plundered Rome in 455 A.D. Nothing of any

¹ Monemvasia or Malvasia gave its name to "Malmsey," a wine held in great esteem in the Middle Ages. A cask of this wine was ennobled by the immersion of a ducal body therein, if we may believe a legend familiar to all who have ploughed their way through English history.

value that could be carried off was left in the place. Many of the richest inhabitants were made prisoners of war, to be ransomed at exorbitant rates. Hundreds of workmen from the silk factories, which made Thebes famous in the Middle Ages, were taken down to the fleet and compelled to labour at the oar.

From Thebes the Normans, leaving Athens untouched, passed on to Corinth. The garrison retreated to the Acrocorinthus, which, in the hands of ordinarily courageous occupants, ought to have proved impregnable. But the commandant was a coward, and surrendered at the first summons. Corinth suffered the same indignities as Thebes, and then the invaders, their ships full laden with captives and all sorts of plunder, set sail for Palermo. On the return of the expedition, the silk-workers from Corinth and Thebes were settled in the Sicilian capital, where their industry was encouraged and protected by King Roger, greatly to the profit of the realm.

The war dragged on with alternations of victory and defeat, until the year 1158. Manuel recovered Corfu, but failed disastrously in his attempts to carry the war into the enemy's country. When the terms of peace were under discussion, Manuel had an opportunity of procuring the repatriation of that multitude of useful and productive subjects which had been carried off to Sicily, but he let it slip. Thebes, however, managed to recover, to some extent at least, from the devastation inflicted by the Normans. Benjamin of Tudela, as we have already noticed, visited the town in 1161, and

found it a wealthy and prosperous community. Possibly the two thousand Jews of whom he speaks as the chief manufacturers of silk and purple cloth in all Greece had come in to take the place of the workpeople whom the Normans had removed. In 1197 Sultan Moieddin of Ancyra demanded from Alexius III. (Angelus) forty robes of Theban silk, such as were made for the Emperor's use, as part of the annual tribute, on payment of which he would be pleased to allow the Romans to live in peace.¹

Roger of Sicily appears to have been perfectly free from prejudice against Orientals. He had a Syrian for the admiral of his fleet, and reconciled his Theban and Corinthian captives to their expatriation by enabling them to resume the industry in which they excelled, to their own profit as well as to that of the kingdom at large. There was a considerable Mohammedan population in Sicily, descendants of the Arabs who had conquered the island in the ninth century. These people were allowed to live unmolested in the practice of Islam. Most notable among the Moslem *protégés* of King Roger was the Arab Edrisi, who was appointed Geographer-Royal. Edrisi, the greatest of the mediæval Arabian geographers, produced in 1154 a description of the world, in which there are interesting and valuable notices of the countries included in the Byzantine Empire. In dealing with Greece, Edrisi mentions among its chief towns

¹ Finlay, "History of Greece," iii., 162, 247. Paparrhigopoulos, "History of the Greek Nation," iv., 555.

Corinth, "Batra"—*i.e.* Patras—Arcadia,¹ Methone or Modon, "El Kedemona" (Lacedæmon), "Maliassa" (Monemvasia), Argos, and Athens, describing the last as a populous town, surrounded by gardens and cornfields. He does not mention Thebes, and thus it would seem that the recovery of Thebes began at some time between 1154, when Edrisi's geographical treatise was finished, and 1163, when Benjamin of Tudela's visit took place.

It is fairly certain that the Norman invasion of the year 1147 spared Athens. Had Athens been attacked and plundered, we should have been told of it by Nicetas Choniates, who could not have passed over such an event in silence. The object of the invaders seems to have been to seize the greatest amount of plunder in the shortest possible time, and the prospect of plunder in Athens was too poor to make it appear worth while to incur the expenditure of time which would have been required to bring the fleet round the Peloponnesus into the Saronic Gulf, or even to haul the ships overland across the Isthmus, supposing that their size and tonnage allowed of this. That the Normans spared Athens for any sentimental reasons is not to be supposed for a moment.

Edrisi's notice of the gardens and cornfields round Athens is interesting. In the times of Pliny and Pausanias there were numerous gardens in the neighbourhood of the city, probably for the most part market-gardens. Figs and olives have been naturalized for ages in the soil of Attica, and the

¹ Cyparissia in ancient days.

quality of the barley-crops raised in antiquity was excellent, though the quantity was insufficient for the population when Athens was in her glory.

The general aspect of the city, as viewed from a distance, was in all probability very much the same in the twelfth century as in the second, though Herodes Atticus might have had some difficulty in recognizing the place had he been brought back to earthly life in the days of Michael Akominatos. But between the classical and the mediæval city there may have been much more resemblance than could be supposed between either of them and the capital of the present kingdom of Greece.

The streets and lanes which occupy the ground north and north-east of the Acropolis, between the rock and "Hermes Street" in the one direction, and "Constitution Square" in the other, may be taken as representing the main features of the mediæval city, though only a few of the buildings now standing are actually of mediæval origin. Narrow and tortuous roadways, houses of an aboriginal rather than original style of construction—one need not say "architecture"—built very largely out of the debris of the pagan city; quaint little churches, crowned with octagonal or circular lanterns on which rest shallow cupolas, and roofed in, as also are the houses, with curved red-brown tiles; fig-trees or olives thrusting branches over garden-walls here and there; memorials of pagan antiquity, such as the choragic monument of Lysicrates, the Horologion of Andronicus Cyrrhestes ("Tower of the Winds"), Hadrian's arch, his forum—the delapidated remains of which have

been used as the nuclei for two churches, one of St. Michael the Taxiarch, the other of the Panaghia, and the Theseum, which has become a church of St. George; the "bazari," as it would have been called in the more corrupt speech of later days, a plexus of lanes, where the glare of the sun is broken by awnings stretched across, or perhaps even by the more solid shelter of stone vaulting, which converts the thoroughfare into a tunnel, lighted through openings overhead—such are some of the details of the picture. It is not easy to resuscitate, in imagination, the life that pulsed through those streets and lanes, the arterial and venous system of the city. The Athenians of the twelfth century, however, can hardly have differed very greatly in nature and temperament from their descendants of the twentieth. We may picture them to ourselves as a dark-complexioned, bright-eyed folk, voluble in speech, animated in gesture, nervous and excitable, quick-witted and intelligent, but inclined to use their wits for base purposes, temperate and abstemious, but grievously beset by love of lucre, devout and scrupulous in the matter of fasts and festivals, cross-signings, genuflexions and so forth, but not always greatly rejoicing in truth, born actors and orators, yet incapable of even approaching the excellence of their pagan forefathers, by reason of their inveterate tendency towards exaggeration. Between them and the Athenians of the Periclean age a wall of separation has been raised up in the course of ages. That accomplished ecclesiastic, Michael Akominatos, in whom there had been kindled a genuine fire of enthusiasm for

the literary and artistic glories of ancient Hellas, many memorials of which he must have seen and touched and handled during the years of his sojourning in Constantinople,¹ experienced a terrible disenchantment when he first came to Athens as its Metropolitan in the year 1180. Yet he can hardly have lacked previous warning. The grantees appointed by the Emperors and sent from Constantinople to administer the government of Athens and its "horion" or district brought back an evil report of the place. They compared it to the deserts of Scythia, and complained of the stiff-necked petulance of its inhabitants, who complained, protested, haggled, squabbled, and orated whenever called upon to pay their taxes, and deferred payment as long as they could. Doubtless they had plenty of reason on their side in this matter. So indeed thought Michael Akominatos, who went twice to the capital to plead *in propria personâ* for some measure of relief to be granted to his distressed spiritual flock.² But with these same spiritual sheep he was not altogether well pleased. They received him, according to his own statement, with enthusiasm. But to his great mortification he found that "the Muses had taken wing, carrying philosophy, oratory, and everything with them," and that their inheritance had been invaded by "boorishness and a barbarous dialect." Very soon he came to look upon Athens as a place of

¹ Michael was born at Chonæ near the site of Colossæ in Asia Minor, about A.D. 1140, but was sent to Constantinople to complete his education for the priesthood about A.D. 1155.

² In 1185 and 1201.

banishment, and he implored George Xiphilinos, the Patriarch of Constantinople, to rescue him from "this pit," "this infernal Valley of Lamentation." The aspect and condition of the city, moreover, distressed him. He found it a "dirty dust-heap," where commerce and industry were hopelessly decaying. "There is no worker in iron or copper among us," he wrote on one occasion; and again, "everything they make in Athens is poor and rude, down to the very instruments of field-labour." In the bitterness of his spirit, however, the good Metropolitan must have written unadvisedly with his pen. Athens and its district had been included in the list of free ports granted to the Venetians by Alexius in the treaty of 1082—which indicates that the Venetians thought it worth while to do business there. The treaty was renewed in 1126, 1174, 1187, and 1199. And Michael himself, writing from the island of Ceos, whither he had fled for refuge when Otto de la Roche came to take possession of his duchy of Athens and Bœotia, mentions the "conchyleutæ," or purple-fishers, from Chalcis, Carystos, and Athens.

Some consolation Michael might have found in the Acropolis, which guarded the city on its southern side, rising up with its stately diadem of buildings and walls sharply defined against the pure and brilliant sky of Attica. From the ridge connecting the Acropolis with the Areopagus, the long flight of steps, worn by the tread of countless feet for centuries past, led up to the Propylæa. Close within this matchless gateway was the archiepiscopal residence with its chapel of the Archangels

Michael and Gabriel—this chapel, according to the antiquarian Pittakes, being actually part of the structure of the Propylæa, so that the Archangels seemed to keep the gate of the stronghold. The very dedication of the shrine should have suggested comforting thoughts to one, whose baptismal name commended him to the protection of St. Michael, and whose native city of Chonæ had long been a place where the prince of the warrior hosts of heaven was venerated with especial devotion. The people of Chonæ had inherited from their ancestors, the Christians of Colossæ,¹ a tradition of angel-worship, and much the same thing might be said of other Orthodox Greek communities.

The view inward and eastward from the Propylæa is almost filled by the Erechtheum and the Parthenon. Very considerable changes had been made in the interior of the Parthenon, when it was made a Christian church, but outwardly it probably looked much as it did in the days when the Panathenaic procession, portrayed upon the frieze of the cella, was still a present reality, an actual and regularly recurring event in the life of the city. The colours indeed must have faded from the sculptures of the pediments, metopes, and frieze, and from the triglyphs and the capitals and flutings of the columns. So likewise it is doubtful whether much, if anything, of the bronze accessories of the sculptured work and the *ex-voto* shields once fastened upon the architrave existed

¹ Colossians ii., 18. The Colossians migrated to Chonæ in the eighth century. See Ramsay, "The Church in the Roman Empire," p. 477, and Lightfoot, "Colossians," pp. 65, 68.

in Akominatos' days. Yet the building was still fair to look upon. The main features of its excellence and beauty had been preserved. Akominatos would be justified in speaking of it as "a glorious sanctuary, radiant in brightness, the palace of the Virgin who is the vessel and fountain of light celestial."

The brightness of which Michael Akominatos speaks was most likely brightness of exterior aspect. Within, there must have been the mystic gloom proper to so august a sanctuary, a religious twilight in which gleamed, like stars, the lamps suspended before the pictured screen bearing, among others, the sacred icon of the Virgin-Mother with the Christ-child. The great glory of the heathen temple had been the colossal statue of Athene, wrought in ivory and gold, bearing in her hand a figure representing Victory. Not the least of the glories of the Christian church was the icon of Mary, holding in her arms the Child who was born to conquer Death and Satan.

Michael Akominatos certainly had need of such consolation as the immediate surroundings of his abode on the Acropolis might afford. In his episcopate, the inhabitants of Attica suffered grievously in many ways. A succession of dry seasons, and consequent scarcity, drove many into self-imposed exile. Pirates—some of whom were Christians, from Genoa and Malta—established themselves in Ægina and other islands, from which they could dart forth upon the merchant ships leaving or approaching the Piræus, and ravage the

coasts of Attica.¹ So inadequate were the measures taken to repel them—if indeed any were taken at all—by the Diœcetes, that the sea-robbers pushed their incursions far inland, and the peasantry from fear of being slaughtered or dragged off into slavery, would not stir from their villages to till the fields, but left them uncultivated.

In respect of the miseries inflicted by piratical raids, the Athenians were suffering for the folly and madness of those who ruled in the capital of the Empire. In 1183 the Greeks of Constantinople rose *en masse* against the “Latin” residents, *i.e.* the Venetians, Amalfitans, Pisans, and others from Italy and other countries of the West²—slaughtered large numbers, enslaved others, and forced the remainder to fly. The insolence of the privileged foreigners had at last become intolerable to the native population, which exacted compensation in murder, rapine, and pillage.

But the cities and communities whose representatives had suffered regarded the action taken by the Greeks, not as the settling of an old account, but as the opening of a new one. Genoese and other pirates swarmed in the Ægean—some of them joining with, or rivalling, Saracens and Turks in harrying the shores of Christian Attica, and in 1185 the Normans of Sicily assailed, captured, and plundered Thessalonica.

As though these things were not enough, there

¹ Thus did Ægina once more become the eye-sore of the Piræus.

² Styled “Latins” because Latin was the language of their public acts of religion, and of the greater part of their literature.

was also the greed and cruelty of fiscal agents and officials. Michael succeeded in getting Alexius II. and Andronicus I. (1180-3) to send governors of Hellas who were ready and willing to effect reforms in the system of taxation. But their efforts were defeated by the influence of the friends whom the guilty officials had at court. In 1185 Michael went in person to the capital to congratulate Isaac Angelus, the new Emperor, upon the expulsion of the Normans from Macedonia by Alexius Branas, and to plead the poverty of the Athenians as an excuse for their failure to send the Sovereign the customary gift of a gold crown at his accession. He took this opportunity of urging the necessity for relief-measures, but no permanent result followed. Under Alexius III. the Byzantine admiral, Giovanni Stirioni (a Calabrian), took from the Athenians a forced contribution to the maintenance of the imperial navy. The admiral appropriated the money and left the naval defences of Attica as he found them—that is to say, utterly ineffective. This took place in 1198, and in the following year Michael addressed to the Emperor a memorial, setting forth at length the abuses and violations of justice by which the provincial governors oppressed the inhabitants of Athens and Attica and devoured their substance. In this document the Metropolitan complained (1) of the unjust difference made between Attica and neighbouring districts, which were relieved at the expense of the Athenians, from whom far more was exacted than old-established custom and definite assessments allowed; (2) of the rapacious tyranny

of the Prætor or Governor of Hellas and Peloponnesus, who inflicted his visits upon Athens under pretence of paying his devotions to the Panaghia on the Acropolis. On such occasions the city was invaded by a veritable army of guards, officials, etc., accompanying the Prætor, and requisitioning all sorts of provisions and supplies from the unfortunate people, who received never a farthing of compensation. Whilst sojourning in Athens, the Prætor lived entirely at the expense of the city, and had to be bribed to take his departure. Having obtained the promise of this honorarium, the Prætor would depart, leaving an official to collect the money. To carry the Prætor's baggage, pack-animals were requisitioned. The owners might recover possession on payment of such price as to his Excellency seemed proper. Of these iniquities Michael prayed that there might be a speedy termination. Furthermore, he requested that the Athenians should not be forced to contribute money towards the maintenance of the navy instead of providing—as the law properly required—the contingent of sailors due from their territory.

But no protests or representations, whether written or verbal, effected any result. Meanwhile, the disorganization of the whole imperial system went on apace. Bulgaria had risen once more in revolt, and thrown off the yoke of allegiance. Michael's complaints of the persistent violation, by imperial officials, of Athenian rights conferred by imperial charters and edicts, shows how little control the central government now exerted over

its provincial subordinates. Further illustration of this collapse of the imperial administration is supplied by the exploits of Leon Sgouros, Prince of Argos and Nauplia.

Leon's father, whose possessions gave him power, had forcibly seized the governorship of the town of Nauplia, the port of Argos, and Leon himself, inheriting this wrongfully acquired domain, added to it, first Argos, and then Corinth, by similar ways and means of iniquity. He had thus made himself master of Argolis and the Isthmus, when Alexius III. was dethroned, and Isaac Angelus restored, by a filibustering league of Venetians, Frenchmen, and Flemings (July, 1203).

In the utter confusion of affairs which followed the restoration of Isaac Angelus, Leon saw an admirable opportunity of extending his own power. Athens appeared to be incapable of offering any resistance, and Leon flattered himself that he had only to stretch out his hand to seize the prize. But though their city was ill-provided with means of defence, the Athenians were not minded to yield themselves tamely, and in their Metropolitan they had a leader both willing and capable. Leon marched towards Athens by Eleusis and the Sacred Way. Near the monastery of Daphni he met Michael, who had come out to dissuade him, if possible, from attacking Athens. Leon demanded the surrender of a young Athenian against whom he had some grudge. The youth in question was a bad character, and had wronged Michael as well as Leon Sgouros. But Michael refused to surrender him, and earnestly exhorted the invader to

retire, and not stir up civil war at a time when all Greece was threatened with an incursion of Franks and Venetians. Leon rejected the Metropolitan's representations with contempt, and continued his march. Michael thereupon retired to the Acropolis with such forces as he could raise. The invaders had no difficulty in entering the city, but the Acropolis, bravely held under the leadership of Michael, resisted their utmost efforts. Leon, enraged by defeat, was compelled to withdraw, having first set fire to the city and plundered the surrounding country. He then marched upon Thebes, which surrendered without striking a blow. It is not certain whether he made a second attempt upon Athens in the following year (1204)—if he did, he met with another repulse. With the exception of Athens, all the eastern regions of Greece, from Nauplia to the limits of Thessaly were now in Leon's power. But he was not destined long to retain the dominion so unrighteously acquired.

IV.

SOME modern authorities plead for the administration of the proverbial grain of salt along with Michael Akominatos' vehement strictures upon the ignorance and barbarism of Athens in his day. We are asked to believe that Athens was not, after all, so lacking in culture and learned attainment as her worthy Metropolitan would have us believe.

There was no longer, indeed, a great seat of learning; but the traditions of earlier, brighter, happier days were very far from having died out.

The evidence, however, produced in favour of this more moderate view is not by any means cogent. The facts alleged are as follows:—

(1) St. Ghislain, who founded a monastery in the Hennegau region of Belgium, about A.D. 640, was a native of Athens, and a learned man withal.

(2) In the legend of Pope Joan, Athens is represented as a place to which the studious resorted in the pursuit of learning.

(3) The fame of Athens reached the ears of Icelandic Sagamen.

(4) David II. of Iberia (A.D. 1088-1125) used to send young men year by year to study in Athens.

(5) Master Ægidius, a medical author, whose name was great in Paris at the end of the twelfth century, was reported to have studied his science in Athens.

(6) John of Basingstoke, Archdeacon of Leices-who died A.D. 1252, had studied in Athens. His instructor (so he told Matthew Paris the Chronicler) was Constantina, daughter of the Archbishop of that city.

In this list, (3) and (4) hardly call for consideration. The occurrence of any mention of Athens in Icelandic Sagas is called in question by Gregorovius (*"Geschichte der Stadt Athens im Mittelalter,"* p. 172), and the same authority on the mediæval history of Athens, holds that the "Athens" to which David II. of Iberia sent young

men to complete their education was a monastery, so named, which had been founded by that monarch.

With regard to the rest of the evidence, the following general observations may be made. Granting that Athens actually did enjoy in the Middle Ages the reputation of being a sanctuary and stronghold of learning, this reputation may be accounted for as resting upon an assumption that Athens was still such as it had been down to the days of St. Basil and St. Gregory Nazianzene. The compilers of the "acta" of saints, or of such curiosities of mythopoeia as the legend of Pope Joan, would have some knowledge of what Athens was in the earlier ages of Christendom. There would also be some knowledge of what the city had been in pre-Christian times. In point of fact, the best mental adornment which a Western European could acquire in Athens in the Middle Ages, would be such a knowledge of Greek as would enable him to read the Greek Fathers and the liturgical books of the Orthodox Greek Church. But such an accomplishment would make him a marked man in his own country and among his own people, at a time when any knowledge of Greek was indeed a rarity in Western Europe. To have acquired a good working knowledge of Patristic Greek would gain for a man no small reputation for learning in those days, and confirm the traditional impression that Athens was still a "university town." But Athens offered no more opportunities to the student than any other Greek provincial town where there was

an ecclesiastical society centred upon a bishopric, save indeed when some exceptional person was residing there, such as Constantina, under whose tuition John of Basingstoke declared that he had learnt more than even the lecturers at Paris could impart to him. Who was this Hypatia of the Middle Ages? According to the statement handed down in the Chronicle of Matthew Paris, she was the daughter of the Archbishop of Athens. Her father's name is not given. John of Basingstoke died in A.D. 1252. Matthew Paris has unluckily omitted to say how old the Archdeacon of Leicester was at the time of his death, so that we are forced to proceed upon conjecture. If John of Basingstoke had attained the age of seventy in A.D. 1252, his sojourn in Athens might have fallen within the episcopate of Michael Akominatos (A.D. 1180-1205). But even if this could be made certain, there would remain the difficulty that Akominatos, according to his own account, never had any children. Furthermore, Constantina was still under twenty years of age when the future Archdeacon of Leicester was her pupil. Now Basingstoke's sojourn in Athens, on the supposition that he was seventy years of age when he died in A.D. 1252, would not be likely to fall earlier than A.D. 1200, and Constantina, being under twenty in that year, must have been born after her father's appointment to the See of Athens. A date for her birth subsequent to 1180 could not be established without convicting her father of having committed a serious breach of the laws of the Eastern Church and Empire concerning

clerical marriages. The ordination of married men is lawful in the Greek Church, but the marriage of ordained men is not, and he whose wife is still alive when he is elected to a bishopric, must, before taking possession of his see, send his wife to live away from him in a monastery.

It is to little purpose, however, that the question whether Akominatos was or was not the father of Constantina is debated, so long as Basingstoke's age at the time of his death is unknown. The average duration of life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages was probably less prolonged than it is now, even among clerics and monastics. Basingstoke may have been hardly more than fifty years of age when he died. In that case his sojourn in Athens would fall later than the establishment of the French Duchy under the House of La Roche. A Latin Archbishop of Athens *might* no doubt have a daughter—even a daughter who in or about A.D. 1220 was no more than eighteen years of age. In such a case we should have to suppose a violation of the Canon Law similar to Cranmer's marriage. The offspring of such a marriage would find it hard to obtain a good report. But in Matthew Paris's account, Constantina's name has no reproach fastened upon it. She is not rebuked for the error of her nativity.

The story of John of Basingstoke and Constantina, the learned maid of Athens, is so full of difficulties as it stands that one is tempted to set the whole account down as an impudent invention. It is not inseparable from the rest of Basingstoke's

story as given by Matthew Paris. Between Constantina and Pope Joan there is an uncanny resemblance; indeed, Constantina may be Pope Joan in a particular manifestation.

Of more value and at least equal interest is Matthew Paris's citation of a statement made by John of Basingstoke to Robert Grossetête, Bishop of Lincoln, concerning the apocryphal document known as the "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs." "This Master John told Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, that when he was pursuing his studies in Athens, he had seen and heard from some learned Greek doctors of things unknown to the Latins," among these things being the "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," "which were evidently a portion of Holy Writ, but had long been concealed by the malice of the Jews, in consequence of the manifest prophecies of Christ contained in them. Whereupon the said Bishop sent to Greece, and having obtained possession of them [the Testaments] translated them into the Latin tongue." More probably, he caused them to be translated by Master John, who had proved his ability to render Greek by his Latin version of a Greek treatise on Grammar, a work undertaken no doubt in the hope that it might prepare the way for the study of Greek in all English centres and seats of learning.

[See the following authorities: Spyridon Lambros, *Αἱ Ἀθῆναι περὶ τὰ τέλη τοῦ Δωδεκάτου Αἰῶνος*, pp. 45-50, and G. Constantinidi, *Ἱστορία τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, pp. 232, 241-244.)

V.

THE FRANKISH CONQUEST¹

IN 1204 Constantinople was captured and pillaged by a Franco-Venetian armada. The conquerors, having stabbed the Eastern Empire to the heart, proceeded to dismember the corpse and seize every man his portion. Baldwin of Flanders was elected to the throne of the Comneni and Angeli, the Venetians receiving compensation through being allowed to nominate a successor to the Patriarch John Kamateros, who had fled when the city was taken. Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, who had hoped to be invested with the imperial purple, received at first a feudatory kingdom in Asia, but this was exchanged for Macedonia, with Salonica (Thessalonica) for his capital. Venice received as her share in the spoils of iniquity "one quarter and one eighth of the Roman Empire"—more than was assigned to the Emperor Baldwin himself—this fraction consisting mainly of islands and places on the sea-coast. The remainder of the Empire was divided and sub-divided into feudal domains, many of which were never occupied by those to whom they had been assigned.

At the time when these arrangements were made, the cities and territories which made up the various principalities, baronies, etc., had still to be conquered. Many were never conquered at all. No

¹ See Finlay, "History of Greece," p. 88*f.*, 132*f.*; Constantinidi, "Ἱστορία τῶν Ἀθηνῶν," p. 269*f.*; Paparrhigopoulos, "Ἱστορία," Vol. V., p. 16*f.*

Latin principality was established on the Asiatic side of the Ægean or the Marmora, though the conquerors had marked out claims for themselves in provinces which had for centuries ceased to form part of the Eastern Empire. Even in Europe the "conquest" was very far from complete, and the whole enterprise was well-nigh arrested for good and all at the very outset, by the open quarrel which blazed up between Baldwin the Emperor and Boniface the King-Marquis. To receive from Boniface the oath of fealty and recognition of suzerainty was a matter of the first consequence to Baldwin, while to Boniface the evasion of any such oath was no less important. Baldwin marched to Salonica, purposing to invest Boniface with the kingdom. Boniface asserted his equality with the Emperor by laying siege to Adrianople, where he would probably have invested the imperial commandant with a halter, if he had caught him. The fighting was stopped by the intervention of the Doge of Venice¹ and the Count of Blois, who ultimately persuaded the King of Salonica to do homage for his realm, which consisted of all the country from the Strymon to the Spercheus.² He was also appointed to the chief command of the army which was to effect the conquest of Greece.

Sooner or later in the course of the year 1204,

¹ The Doge may have been influenced by the consideration that Adrianople was included in the three-eighths of the Empire made over to Venice.

² Contrast Boniface's conduct with that of Amaury, King of Cyprus, who voluntarily made himself the liegeman of the (Western) Emperor Henry VI. in 1196.

Sgouros must have heard of the occupation of Salonica and the surrounding country. He could not expect the invasion to stop there—the question was, where he could best meet it. He selected the Pass of Thermopylæ. Next year the Crusaders were at the gates of Hellas. Thermopylæ was a first-rate defensive position, but defensive positions will not hold themselves, and Sgouros' army made no attempt to hold the pass. Thus—not for the first time in the history of Greece—its strong gateway was tamely abandoned to an invader.¹

The evacuation of Thermopylæ carried with it the surrender of all the country between the Malian Gulf and the Isthmus of Corinth. Sgouros took refuge in the lofty stronghold of the Acrocorinthus, while the King of Salonica marched through Locris, Bœotia, and Attica.

Montferrat, having failed in his attempt to evade taking the oath of fealty to Baldwin, sought to indemnify himself by inducing those to whom lands in Central Greece and the Morea had been assigned, to accept investiture at his hands, render him homage, and swear fealty to him. Thus Otho De la Roche, a Burgundian knight who had taken part in this "Crusade," did homage to Montferrat for the seignury of Thebes and Athens (A.D. 1205).

Under the leadership of their Metropolitan, the Athenians had beaten back Sgouros from the

¹ Thermopylæ was abandoned to the Romans by the army of the Achæan League in B.C. 146. It was again abandoned without fighting when Alaric invaded Greece in A.D. 396, and yet again on the occasion of the Slavobulgarian inroad in A.D. 539 or 540.

Acropolis, two years before, but no attempt was made to oppose the entry of Montferrat and De la Roche. The new assailant was more formidable than the tyrant of Argos, and Michael Akominatos, seeing that resistance would only end in useless bloodshed, fled from Athens, first to Eubœa, and then to Ceos in the Cyclades, where he found a refuge in the monastery of the Prodomos.¹ From his island retreat the exiled prelate maintained a correspondence with some of his people, and thus it was that he heard, to his sorrow, of the cessation of the ancient Orthodox liturgies and offices in the Parthenon, and the substitution, in their place, of the rites and ceremonies, the prayers and psalmody, of Gallican Christendom.² Yet this afflicted him less than to hear that many of his flock had abandoned the still waters and green pastures of orthodoxy for the thorn-brakes and snares of heresy and innovation.

Akominatos died in 1220, full of years, and leaving behind him a name and memory to lighten the gloom of the unhappy history of those evil times.

Having secured Bœotia and Athens, Montferrat advanced into the Morea, and, dividing his forces, laid siege to Corinth and Nauplia. But before he could capture these strongholds, evil tidings from Macedonia compelled him to return

¹ *i.e.*, St. John the Baptist.

² The "Use of Athens" was in all probability the "Use of Notre Dame" in Paris. The first Latin archbishop was a Frenchman, and the statutes of Notre Dame in Paris were adopted for the administration of Ste. Marie d'Athènes.

northwards. A rebellion had broken out in Salonica, and the Bulgarians were threatening to overrun the kingdom. Montferrat quickly suppressed the rebellion, but in 1207 he was killed in a skirmish with a band of Bulgarian raiders.

His widow, Margaret of Hungary,¹ became regent, in name at least, on behalf of her infant son Demetrius, but the reality of power went to Count Umberto Biandrate, elected bailli of the kingdom by the Lombard knights of Montferrat's following. Biandrate and the Lombards were set upon throwing off the suzerainty of the Emperor of Romania, and establishing an independent kingdom under the rule of William of Montferrat, son of the late Marquis by an earlier marriage. The great baronies to the south—Athens and Thebes, Salona, Eubœa, etc., were to be fiefs of the Kingdom of Salonica, not of the Empire of Romania.

Baldwin of Flanders had fallen in battle with the Bulgarians in 1205, and his brother Henry reigned in his stead. The new Emperor only obtained entrance into Salonica by feigning assent to Biandrate's demands, but having once established himself and an armed escort within the city, he took charge, as feudal superior and suzerain, of the young Crown Prince Demetrius, and caused him to be solemnly proclaimed and crowned King of Salonica, on January 6th, 1209. Demetrius, having been admitted to the order of knighthood by Henry, and crowned by his command, was now the Emperor's liegeman. Biandrate was compelled

¹ Formerly wife of Isaac Angelos (r. 1185—1195).

to swear fealty, but having shown soon after that the words of his mouth in no way restrained the meditations of his heart, he was imprisoned. His adherents then raised the standard of rebellion. Henry defeated them at Larissa, but allowed them to escape over Mount Othrys, and enter Bœotia, where they seized Thebes, which was the headquarters of Otho's domain. That they were able to do so appears to be due to the circumstance that Otho was absent at the time, assisting Geoffrey Villehardouin, bailli of Achaia, in besieging Corinth. In the hope of arriving at a settlement of the affairs of Macedonia and Greece by peaceful negotiation, the Emperor convened a Parliament of his vassals at Ravenika, in the upper valley of the Spercheus, in May, 1209. Thither the Seigneur of Athens, the bailli of Achaia, and other barons betook themselves, but Guido of Voudonitza and Ravanno dalle Carceri, one of the lords of Eubœa, defiantly maintained themselves in possession of Thebes. De la Roche, Villehardouin, and Marco Sanudo of Naxos did homage, preferring the Emperor of Romania to the King of Salonica as a suzerain. The preference was very natural, as the Emperor lived further off, and therefore was less likely to be troublesome. From Ravenika Henry marched on to Thebes, which the Lombards, after a short resistance, surrendered on condition that Biandrate should be set at liberty. Thebes was then restored to De la Roche, and Henry proceeded to visit Athens, where the Grand Seigneur entertained him in the residence on the Acropolis. The imperial visit lasted only two days, and then

Henry went over to Eubœa, having received the submission of Ravanno dalle Carceri, who proved his sincerity by persuading Biandrate to make his peace with the Emperor. Soon afterwards Biandrate returned to Italy.

Leon Sgouros had departed this life in 1208, but the fortresses of Corinth, Argos, and Nauplia were still held by Greek garrisons. These forces were under the chief command of Theodore, brother of Michael Angelus Ducas, the despot of Epirus. Otho De la Roche and Geoffrey Villehardouin had already made one unsuccessful attack upon Corinth, before the Lombard rebellion and the Parliament of Ravenika. When the Emperor returned northward, they resumed the siege of Corinth, which was surrendered in 1210. Argos and Nauplia fell within the next two years. An arrangement was made by De la Roche and Villehardouin, by which the former received Argos and Nauplia, together with a yearly revenue of 400 byzants from the customs at Corinth, as a fief of Achaia. This arrangement, however, gave the Prince of Achaia no claims over the Seigneur of Athens in respect of his domains in Attica and Bœotia.

This appears to have been the last military achievement of any note in the career of Otho. Thirteen years later, he resigned his seigneurie to his nephew, Guy De la Roche, and returned to his old home in Burgundy.

The history of the mediæval Duchy of Athens begins with Otho De la Roche, but Otho himself never bore the title of Duke, and Thebes, rather than Athens, was the capital down to the fourteenth

century. Otho's title was "Grand Seigneur" (Μέγας Κύριος), that of "Duke" being first assumed by his successor Guy, on whom it was bestowed by Louis IX. of France (St. Louis) in A.D. 1260.¹ Otho, as we have seen, became a vassal of the Emperor who reigned in Constantinople. Under him were subordinate fief-holders, lay and clerical, who formed the aristocracy represented in the "Haute Cour," the merchants and the rest of the "bourgeoisie" being represented in the "Basse Cour." The laws administered in these courts were those of the code known as the "Assises de Romanie," which were simply, like the "Assises de Chypre," a modification of the "Assises de Jérusalem," the traditional code of the feudal state established in the Holy Land by the Crusaders in 1099. The Dukes of Athens, indeed, at their accession swore to maintain "the good usages and customs of the Kingdom of Jerusalem." The language used in the proceedings before these courts, and in all official proclamations, etc., was, of course, French, which was spoken as correctly in Attica, under the House of De la Roche, as in Paris itself. The native population consisted of two classes: (1) serfs, "δουλοπάροικοι," and (2) those who were free, but had to bear the burden of taxation. Among the free Greeks not a few held estates as tenants of the Grand Seigneur or Duke, to whom they paid rent corresponding to the amount of taxation they had previously paid under

¹ Similarly, Guy de Lusignan was only Seigneur of Cyprus. The first king was his brother and successor Amaury.

the Byzantine *régime*. All matters in which the Greeks alone were concerned, were regulated by the "Basilica," *i.e.*, the code of the Byzantine Empire, and these ordinances were administered by their ecclesiastical authorities.

These Greek ecclesiastics had suffered considerably by the overthrow of the Byzantine government. Latin prelates occupied the episcopal thrones and residences of the Orthodox metropolitans and bishops, while the estates of Orthodox churches and monasteries had become a bone of contention between the temporal and spiritual rulers whom destiny had thrust upon the land and its people. And as if this were not enough, the Orthodox clergy, though not called upon to abjure the doctrine inherited from their fathers for centuries, were required to do homage for their poor temporalities to the usurping Latin archbishops. This, indeed, appears to have been the common lot of the Greek Orthodox clergy wherever Latin principalities were established on the ruins of the Byzantine Empire. In Cyprus, for example, the conflict over the *χειροδοσία*, as the Greeks called the act of homage, forms a notable episode in the history of the native church of the island.¹

¹ Hackett, "The Orthodox Church of Cyprus," pp. 74-126.



THE CASTLES IN THE MOUNTAINS
 I+ S. HILARION
 II+ BUFFAVENTO
 III+ KANTARA

MAP OF CYPRUS
 Showing Ancient Strongholds.

APPENDIX A

It is doubtful whether Cœur-de-Lion would have turned aside out of his course to land in Cyprus, had the weather held fair and rendered it possible for him to proceed straight to the Holy Land. Even as things fell out, with the storm scattering his armada and driving part of it to Cyprus, it is doubtful whether he would have taken in hand the conquest of the island had not Isaac Comnenus supplied him with a *casus belli*. The duty of inflicting condign chastisement upon Comnenus probably suggested the advisability of seizing his kingdom. It was evident that he would be a bad neighbour to the crusading principalities in Syria and Palestine. To make an end of his dominion, therefore, would be beneficial in so far as it would mean the removal of a nuisance. That, however, was not the only advantage to be gained. The conquest of Cyprus would provide the Crusading strongholds on the coast of the mainland with a source of supplies always available so long as the Moslem could be kept in check by sea, a requirement easier to meet than that of repressing him by land. Furthermore, the conquest would add lustre to the Crown of England, and give the English King a peculiarly distinguished position among the crusading princes. Such, we may believe, were the expectations which were suggested to Cœur-de-Lion, and impelled him to risk a long delay in conquering the dominion of Comnenus.

The risk, indeed, was not very great. Comnenus had proved himself a son of Belial in time of peace, and thereby had estranged the hearts of his people. He was now to prove himself incompetent in time of war. His Cypriotes indeed were far from being equal in fighting capacity to Richard's English and Normans. But they were fighting in, and for, their own country, and under an able commander they might have made the conquest a very difficult, if not an impossible, enterprise. Richard's advance from Limassol to Larnaca might have been disputed with damaging effect, if not victoriously,

at the point where the road, shut in between the hills and the shore, passes the site of Amathus, and this is not the only place where annoying delay, if not actual repulse, might have been inflicted upon an invader to whom time was a serious consideration. In 1426 there was some sort of a road connecting Limassol with Nicosia which followed a line very much the same as that of the present road. So much, at any rate, may be inferred from the fact that King Janus gave battle to the Mamelukes at Choirokitia. After the battle the Mamelukes would cross the hills by the pass immediately west of Stavrovouni (Mount Santa Croce). Richard, however, pushed on to Larnaca, thereby avoiding all chance of untoward events which might have befallen him in the hills, and placing himself in a position from which he could strike simultaneously at Famagusta and Nicosia, approaching the latter point by the easiest route. The longer way round was the shorter way in.

The three fortresses in the northern mountain-range of Cyprus were in existence at the time of Richard I.'s landing, and in all probability were originally constructed in the eighth or ninth century. They are fortresses of the same kind as the castles built in Asia Minor by the Iconoclast Emperors, which Professor Ramsay has described in his paper on "The War of Moslem and Christian for the possession of Asia Minor" in the "Contemporary Review," No. 487 (July, 1906). By reason of their position the three Cyprian strongholds (whose ruins are still to be seen) were difficult even to approach, and almost impossible to take save by dint of prolonged blockading, and starving their garrisons into surrender. At the same time their very position, crowning high and precipitous peaks, whilst it enabled them to defy all the then known methods of attacking fortified places, still allowed very readily of their being completely isolated and surrounded, so that their reduction became only a question of time. But the enemies whom they were designed to check were only those who, like Cœur-de-Lion, had no time to spare. Had these fortresses been ably defended, Cœur-de-Lion might have found himself compelled to leave Cyprus without having taken them—that is to say, he would have had to abandon the island altogether. In that case all the time expended on the march to Larnaca and from thence inland would have been wasted. Moreover, the invading army, compelled to fall back from the mountain castles, would hardly have been allowed by

the naturally exultant Cypriotes to re-embark unmolested and undisturbed.

It is no improbable supposition then that the speedy surrender of these fortresses saved Cœur-de-Lion and his army from serious difficulties, which might nearly have issued in a disaster. According to one account of the English conquest, the surrender was prompted by a message from Comnenus himself. The fallen despot was perhaps trying to curry favour with the conqueror, in the hope of being left in charge as vice-gerent when Cœur-de-Lion departed for the Holy Land.

The most difficult of access, but the least useful withal, of the three strongholds was the Castle of Buffavento, perched on the rocky precipitous summit of the highest peak in the northern mountain range, at an altitude of more than 3000 feet above the sea-level. The largest, and the most important, as it commanded the defile through which runs the road from Nicosia to Kyrenia (the chief town on the north coast of Cyprus) was called by the Greeks the Castle of St. Hilarion, but by the Crusaders Deudeamur (*Dieu d'Amour*). The Greek name commemorates the hermit Hilarion, who was said to have passed the closing years of his life in a retreat which he found for himself upon the steep height on which the castle was afterwards built. In the Crusaders' name, Deudeamur, we have really a corruption of Didymos, a name given to the height on which the castle was built on account of the twin peaks which form its summit. The fortifications, of which considerable ruins still remain, ran up to both of these twin peaks. They were not particularly massive, and indeed did not need to be so, as battering-rams could never have been brought to bear upon them, and machines for casting heavy stones could not have been placed within effective distance. The rock of St. Hilarion looks right down upon the town of Kyrenia from a height of nearly 2,400 feet, commanding one of the grandest views in Cyprus—one might say, indeed, in all the Levant—the sweeping curve of the coastland for some fifty or sixty miles, a series of fertile slopes, planted with countless *caroub*-trees, between the blue Pamphylian Sea and the steep rocky sierra, which closes in the scene like a Titanic wall, while beyond the sea rise the snowy masses of Mount Taurus. In this scene, the most interesting details are the town of Kyrenia with its castle, and the Abbey

of Bella Païs. The castle, originally a Byzantine fortress, underwent successive reconstructions by the French and the Venetians, the work of the latter being now most in evidence. The walls of the castle, like those of Famagusta, which belong to the same epoch (towards the end of the fifteenth century), are of the most solid and massive kind of building. They were designed to resist the impact of cannon-shot, and no doubt were quite equal to that test in their day. Bella Païs was originally founded at an early date in the thirteenth century, and occupied by a corporation at first professing the Augustinian rule, which was exchanged subsequently for the Premonstratensian. The monastery chapel, which is the oldest part of the buildings, is now the parish church of the village of Bella Païs. On its north side is a cloister enclosing an open space planted with orange and lemon trees. The south, east, and north walks of the cloister are still in good condition, but of the west walk there remains little save one or two broken arches. East and north of the cloister are buildings erected in the fourteenth century at the expense of Hugues IV. and Pierre I., Kings of Cyprus and Jerusalem, the building on the north being the refectory, a noble hall with groined vaulting. Below the refectory is a crypt. The ground on which the Bella Païs stands slopes very steeply, and the northern face of the buildings is a lofty and imposing structure, not unlike La Merveille on Mont St. Michel in Normandy.

The third hill-fortress, Kantara, or Hekatospitia (the Hundred Chambers) was much smaller than St. Hilarion, and not nearly so loftily situated, the hill on which it was built rising not much more than 1600 feet above the sea. It stands just at the base of the long Karpasi peninsula. In hostile possession it would have been a source of considerable annoyance, under the conditions of mediæval warfare, to the inhabitants of the plain-country lying to the south. To what degree, or in what manner, it served the defence of Cyprus is not very clear. Its main function may have been that of a station from which the movements of shipping in the sea on either side of the Karpasi peninsula might be watched.

APPENDIX B

The hyperpyron or "byzant" of Cyprus, under the Lusignan dynasty, down to the reign of Pierre I. (A.D. 1359-1369), was a coin made of an alloy of gold, silver, and copper, fused in the proportion of about 17·1 per cent. of gold, 19·4 per cent. of copper, and 63·5 per cent. of silver. In the earlier half of the fourteenth century a gold ducat of Venice was the equivalent of $3\frac{3}{4}$ Cyprian byzants or hyperpyra. These hyperpyra were called "white byzants," from their colour, which was determined by the predominance of silver in their composition. After the reign of Pierre I. the value of the hyperpyron fell, until in the reign of Jacques II. (A.D. 1460-1473) five hyperpyra at the least were required to balance a Venetian ducat.

The name *hyperpyron* is of rather uncertain origin. It might be understood as meaning "somewhat ruddy," "having a red gleam in it," but this is rather hard to reconcile with the name "white byzants," unless the latter be taken to mean that the Cyprian byzant was white or pale in comparison with the gold byzant issued by the imperial mint in Constantinople. The imperial byzant was a gold coin weighing 72 grains. This weight was fixed by Constantine early in the fourth century, and maintained without change down to the time when Constantinople was captured by the French and Venetians, viz., A.D. 1204, a period of nearly 900 years. From the eighth to the thirteenth century the imperial byzants were the only gold currency circulating in Europe. The value of this byzant, calculated simply with reference to its weight, was about eleven shillings, but it must be remembered that the purchasing power of money in the Middle Ages was much greater than it is now. If the 100,000 byzants for which Cœur-de-Lion sold Cyprus to the Templars were imperial byzants, the real equivalent in modern currency would be over £600,000.

M. Satha reckons the value of the Cyprian hyperpyron as 1 drachma and 90 lepta in modern Greek money. This seems to be a rather low estimate. Still, it may be taken as at least probable that the gold byzant would be equal to not less than ten "white" byzants.

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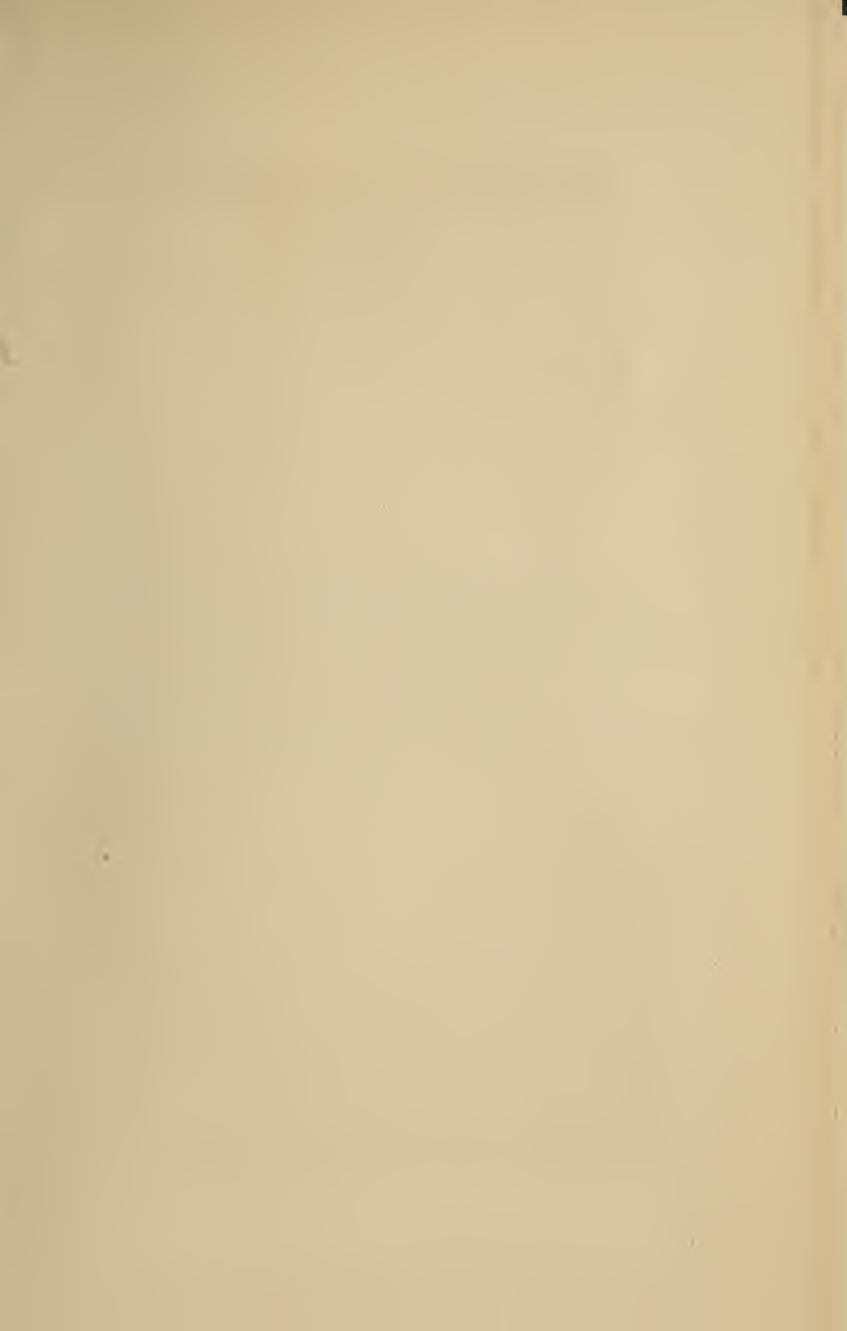
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